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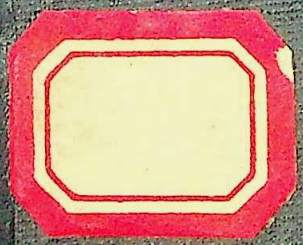

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

LETTERS

Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 1

(*Pages 1–64*)

(*Plates I–V*)

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ASIATIC SOCIETY
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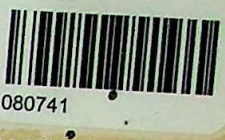

THE IDENTITY OF THE YAŚOVARMAN OF SOME MEDIAEVAL COINS

By SUNIL CHANDRA RAY.

(Communicated by Dr. J. N. Banerjea)

(*Received April 18, 1950*)

While excavating the great Mānikiyāla Stūpa in the sixties of the last century, General Ventura discovered a coin of one Yaśovarman (1). Since then more coins of Yaśovarman have come to light. The exact findspots of these coins have not been recorded, but they were chiefly found in the Punjab (2). Yaśovarman coins closely correspond to the Karkoṭa coins of Kāśmīra—having on one side a scarcely recognizable copy of the 'standing Kushan King' and the word '*Ki*' below l. arm, and on the other side a barbarous headless copy of the 'seated goddess' and the word Yaśovarma. The metal of the coin has been referred to in the standard catalogues as base gold of a similar quality used in the Karkoṭa coins; this is usually known as electrum in which the principal constituents are about one-fifth of gold to four-fifths of silver and other baser metals.

The fixation in time and place of the Yaśovarman of these coins has been a matter of great controversy for long. Sir Alexander Cunningham attributed the coin to Yaśovarman, King of Kanauj, (3) who is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa as an antagonist of Lalitāditya, and who thus might have reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The scholars who followed Cunningham accepted his suggestion in the absence of a better one (4).

So far as our knowledge goes, there is no evidence that Yaśovarman, the King of Kanauj issued any coin. Even if he had issued any, its absence in the Madhyadeśa where he ruled, and its presence in such far off regions as Mānikiyāla and northern parts of the Punjab are difficult to explain. As already pointed out, from stylistic considerations, the coins bearing the name of Yaśovarman are closely related to other Karkoṭa coins, both in type and metal. It is unintelligible why a king of the Madhyadeśa would strike a coin which in its style is peculiar to the valley of Kāśmīra.

Dr. Hoernle was of opinion that these coins were struck by King Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription, who is said to have defeated Mihirakula about 528 A.D.(5). Besides many other difficulties the simple reason that the name of the king appearing on the coins is definitely Yaśovarman, and not Yaśodharman, goes against such a theory.

From stylistic affiliation it seems that the issuer of the Yaśovarman coins was a king of Kāśmīra, and was probably not much removed in date from the Karkoṭa rulers. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mention has been made of one Yaśovarman, son of Mamma, the minister of King Ajitāpīḍa (A.D. 813-14—A.D. 850-51). In the hostility between Mamma and another minister of the King Utpalaka which led to a fierce battle, he showed great valour (6). But this Yaśovarman is not known to have enjoyed any independent or soverign status. It is, therefore, unlikely, that he struck any coin in his name.

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Now an unpublished text of a Sanskrit drama named *Āgamaḍambara* by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa seems to throw some new light on the question (7). This drama in four acts distinctly mentions Yaśovarmadeva, King of Kāśmīra, and identifies him with Śaṁkaravarman, the husband of Sugandhādevī. Thus in Act III of the drama it is said that there was no cause of perturbation among hermits as Śrī Śaṁkaravarman, the husband of queen Sugandhādevī was ruling over the entire earth with justice. Then in Act IV, the name of the same monarch of spotless fame, whose kingdom was an abode of Brahmaṇ (i.e., creator) and also the residence of the gods, is given as Yaśovarmadeva (8). The historicity of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa is well established. Besides *Āgamaḍambara*, he has two other books to his credit—the Nyāyamañjarī and the Nyāya Kalikā. In the Nyāyamañjarī, he mentions the names of King Śaṁkaravarman (9th century A.D.), Dāmodaragupta (8th century A.D.) and Ānandavardhana (9th century A.D.) and in the *Āgamaḍambara* those of Śaṁkaravarman and Sugandhā (9th century A.D.). It thus appears that Jayanta, even if not a contemporary was at least not much removed in time from King Śaṁkaravarman. That he was probably contemporary of the latter seems plausible enough from the introduction of the *Kādambarī-Kathāsāra*. Its author Abhinanda, who is none other than Jayanta's son, relates that Jayanta's great grandfather Śaktisvāmī was a minister of King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. Now Lalitāditya reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.D.; Jayanta Bhaṭṭa being four generations removed from Lalitāditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. when Śaṁkaravarman was on the throne of Kāśmīra. Being not much removed in time from the reign of Śaṁkaravarman, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa probably knew another name of the monarch, which he has mentioned in one of his works. It is thus extremely likely that Yaśovarman coins were struck by the Kāśmīra King Śaṁkaravarman.

The omission of the name of Yaśovarman in Kalhaṇa's chronicle should not surprise us. Living 250 years after Śaṁkaravarman, Kalhaṇa might not have been aware of the other name of the monarch. Moreover, from his account in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the poet historian seems to have cherished not a very good opinion about the King—a king whose fiscal oppressions did not spare even the Brahmins. This unfriendly attitude of Kalhaṇa also might have been a reason for not mentioning the other royal name, bespeaking his greatness and glory.

As already noted, one of the coins of Yaśovarman was found in the Mānikiyāla stupa, others came chiefly from the Punjab. The fact that Yaśovarman coins were recovered, not so much from Kāśmīra proper, but principally from the bordering territories accords well with the career of Śaṁkaravarman who spent most of his days in expeditions in the adjoining regions of his valley (9); evidently they were much current there on account of the payments made by him to his soldiers, or used for other purposes.

Kalhaṇa testifies that the Utpala dynasty succeeded the Karkoṭa. The founder of the dynasty, Avantīvarman, is not known to have struck any coin. The next prince, Śaṁkaravarman, who was the first member of the new family to issue coins of his own, would naturally have adopted a type which would be based on that of his predecessors. Hence, probably, the coins of Yaśovarman, in type, metal and execution, closely follow the Karkoṭa specimens.

References

(1) Cunningham, *A.S.I.*, Rep., Vol. II, p. 159.
(2) *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1888, p. 180; also *I.M.C.*, Vol. I, p. 266.
(3) Cunningham, *A.S.I.*, Rep., Vol. II, pp. 159-160.

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(4) Vincent Smith at first was of opinion that the coins bearing the name of Yaśovarman were issued by some unnamed king of the Punjab or Kāśmīra during the 6th or 7th century A.D.—*I.M.C.*, I, p. 266. Afterwards he revised his opinion. Convinced of the fact that these coins must date from the 8th century, he was inclined to accept the attribution to Yaśovarman of Kānauj, since no other Yaśovarman in that period was known to him. *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 784.

(5) *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 549–553; 1909, pp. 105–108.

(6) *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Book IV, Verse 706.

(7) A copy of the work is now preserved in one of the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras of Patan. Descriptive catalogue of Jaina manuscripts of Patan, *G.O.S.*, Vol. LXXVI, p. 51.

(8) (*a*) Kāsmākamākulatā tāpasānāṁ vā Śrī Śaṁkaravarmaṇi dharmeṇa medinīṁ Samāgatāṁ Śāsati . . . Act III.

(*b*) Rājñī ca Sugandhādevī teṣveva sānucrośā śrūyate . . . Act III.

(*c*) Vivudhaguṇākarṇanakarṇālankārasya pūritasakala Sādhujanamanorathasya punyayaśasah śrī Yaśovarmadevasya brahmaloka nirviśeṣamevedaṁ dṛśyate rāṣṭraṁ . . . bhagavadāyatanam. Tadatra praviśya bhagavantamaśeṣajana śaraṇaṁ Ranasvāminaṁ pranipatyā tataḥ Sabhāmadhyamadhyāsiṣye . . . Act IV.

(9) *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Book V, verses 136–155, 216–218.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

THE RĪTI SCHOOL AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S DHVANI THEORY[1]

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(Communicated by Dr. Nihar-ranjan Ray)

(*Received April 24, 1950*)

In aesthetics as in any other field of human enquiry there is nothing absolutely new. Those whom we choose to call pioneers are but discoverers of some hitherto unheeded element, none-the-less lying beneath the surface beyond the ken of ordinary intelligence. It is the function of the intellectually superior to draw the attention of the rank and file to just that element alone, which to them appears to be the quintessence to the exclusion of all others that are nothing but drab and non-essential appanages,—in short to sift the grain from the chaff, to distinguish the soul from the body. If we closely study the evolution of early Indian thought, we would be able to detect a very singular phenomenon in that there is a gradual tendency towards proceeding from diversity to unity, from outer appearance to inner reality, from analysis to synthesis. This tendency is noticeable in the field of aesthetic criticism as well. Pre-Ānandavardhana criticism of poetic art lost itself in the wilderness of words (*śabda*) and ideas (*artha*), poetic qualities and embellishments (*alaṁkāra*), and forms of style (*rīti*) and alliterations (*vṛtti*), while the one element, the existence or non-existence of which could make or mar a poetic art, was virtually lost sight of. It was *Dhvani* or Suggestion—the very soul of poetry, of which *śabda* and *artha*, *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra*, *rīti* and *vṛtti* are but necessary evolutes (*vivartta*) aiding as they do its fuller manifestation, just as our limbs and their configuration, attributes and ornaments help the manifestation of the amorphous soul without which everything is stale and useless. It would be absolutely wrong to think that Ānandavardhana by promulgating the *Dhvani* theory introduced anything new into the art of poet-craft and poetic criticism. The element of *Dhvani* in all its three varieties—viz., *vastu*, *alaṁkāra* and *rasa*, was already there in the masterpieces like the two great epics (the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), the Prākrit *Gāthās* of the royal poet Sātavāhana-Hāla, the immortal works of Kālidāsa and Amaru's *Century*.[2] It was evident to those who could read them aright, who had eyes to see and ears to hear.

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[1] Read at the Fourteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Darbhanga, 1948.

[2] As Ānandavardhana himself admits: 'tasya hi dhvaneḥ svarūpaṃ sakalasatkavikāvyopaniṣadbhūtam atiramaṇīyam aṇīyasībhir api cirantana-kāvyalakṣaṇavidhāyināṃ buddhibhir anunmīlitapūrvam/atha ca Rāmāyaṇa-Mahābhāratayor bhṛtini lakṣye sarvatra prasiddhavyavahāraṃ lakṣayatām sahṛdayānām ānando manasi labhatāṃ pratiṣṭhām iti prakāśyate'—*Dhvanyāloka*, Uddyota I, pp. 35ff. (Kashi Sanskrit Series edition).

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Prior to Ānandavardhana's advent into the field of literary criticism, the *Alaṁkāra* and *Rīti* schools held their sway in turn and even simultaneously.[1] True, that the supremecy of the aesthetic experience or emotion (*rasa*) in regard to a proper evaluation of literary productions, which Ānandavardhana so enthusiastically and eloquently upholds, was recognized long before his date by Bharata—the eponymous author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[2] But it was left to the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* to substantiate Bharata's doctrine with convincing dialectics by pointing out that the element of emotion, which was put forth as the sole vitalizing essence of a true poetic art, was beyond the scope of the denotative function (*abhidhāśakti*) of words, though Udbhaṭa thought it otherwise.[3] The principle of Suggestion—a purely psychological function—here came into play and nothing else. It lent a peculiar charm to the element conveyed thereby—whether it be a plain fact (*vastu*), an imaginative mood (*alaṁkāra*) or an emotional state (*rasa*). Thus Ānandavardhana strengthened and supplemented Bharata's thesis by bringing it into relation with his peculiar doctrine of *Suggestion*, adapted from the *Sphoṭa* theory of the grammarians of Bhartṛhari's school, which included within its scope *vastu* and *alaṁkāra* as well besides *rasa*. Consequently, it is quite evident that Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani* theory is more comprehensive, logical and representative than Bharata's doctrine of *rasa* as it brings out the inner significance thereof and widens the scope of art proper by making room for such literary products as are enriched with the suggestion of *vastu* and *alaṁkāra*, though in the last analysis they merge themselves in emotion (*rasa*), the *finale* of all art.[4]

Ānandavardhana in his *vṛtti* on the very first *kārikā* of the *Dhvanyāloka* sets forth the objections of the theorists of the *alaṁkāra* and *rīti* schools who do not acknowledge the existence of a separate entity called *Dhvani* apart from *alaṁkāras* and *guṇas* and their collective counterparts—*vṛttis* and *rītis*. These theorists are dubbed as *abhāvavādins* or Negativists by Abhinavagupta who fitly likens them to the Materialists (*Cārvākas*) repudiating the separate existence of *soul* as distinct from the *body* consisting of five elements. But it must be noted in favour of the theorists of the *Rīti* school that they did recognize a soul in the element of *Rīti*, though it was an altogether different concept from Ānandavardhana's element of *Dhvani*, bearing no palpable affinity with the latter. So it would not be proper to

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[1] Vide Professor Sovani's article *Pre-Dhvani Schools of Alaṁkāra* in the volume of *Commemorative Essays Presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, pp. 387ff.

[2] Comp., 'na hi rasād ṛte kaścid arthaḥ pravarttate'—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Chap. IV. Also: 'etacca rasādi-tātparyeṇa kāvyanibandhanaṁ Bharatādāvapi suprasiddham eva'—*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 401 and *Locana* thereon.

[3] In defining the figure *Rasavat* Udbhaṭa states that words like *Śṛngāra*, *Karuṇa*, etc., denotative of individual emotions could actually convey those emotions. Comp.

'rasavad darśitaspaṣṭa-śṛṅgārādi-rasodayam |
svaśabda-sthāyi-saṁcāri-vibhāvā-bhinayāspadam ||'

—*Kāvyālaṁkārasārasaṁgraha*, IV, 3. Pratīhārendurāja explains *svaśabda* as—'tatra svaśabdāḥ śṛngārāder vācakāḥ śṛṅgārādayaḥ śabdāḥ'—*Laghuvṛtti*. (BSS Edn. p. 53). Ānandavardhana probably refers to this view when he observes in his *Dhvanyāloka*—'svaśabdena ca kevalam anūdyate na tu tatkṛtā | viṣayāntare tathā tasyā adarśanāt | na hi kevala-śṛṅgārādi śabdamātrabhāji vibhāvādipratipādanarahite kāvye manāg api rasavattva-pratītir asti | '—*ibid.* pp. 81ff. *Vide* also Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, p. 159 (Second Edition. Ed. by Dr. S. K. De), for a criticism of Udbhaṭa's view.

[4] Comp. 'vyaṅgya-vyañjakabhāve 'smin vividhe sambhavatyapi |
rasādimaya ekasmin kaviḥ syād avadhānavān ||'
—*Dhvanyāloka*, IV, 5.

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disregard the findings of Vāmana and his followers—the formulators of the *Rīti* system—as a completely unorthodox and soul-less system and bring them down to the position of *Cārvākas*. Despite an apparently unbridgable gulf between the *Rīti* and *Dhvani* systems, there is an underlying affinity between the two that can serve as a basis for reconciliation of the divergences that are so very prominent.[1]

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṅsa* mentions one Suvarṇanābha as the propounder of the *Rīti* system.[2] But his is a mythical name. Daṇḍin, of the earliest authors, treats of the two principal *mārgas*—viz., *vaidarbha* and *gauḍiya*, and distinguishes them on the basis of their respective excellences, ten in number.[3] Bhāmaha brushed aside this distinction as being accidental, unscientific and immaterial[4] and reduced the number of poetic excellences (*guṇas*) to three only[5], which is traditionally accepted by all Kāśmīrian authors coming after him, notable among whom is Ānandavardhana himself. But Vāmana, a Kāśmīrian though he was, worked up and supplemented Daṇḍin's proposition by adding *Pāñcālī* as the third principal *rīti* and doubled Daṇḍin's tenfold classification of *guṇas* by dividing them into two separate categories—viz., *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas*, according as they pertain to the sound or the sense. Vāmana praised *rīti*, and specially the *Vaidarbhī* one, as the very soul of literary art.[6] He alone of the ancients first drew a line of contrast between *poetic excellences* and *poetic embellishments*, the former being necessary and the latter accidental.[7] A totality of *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas* in all their various sub-divisions adds life to a poetic composition belonging to the *Vaidarbhī* species.

And yet Vāmana's proposition leaves a wide lacuna to be filled up. *Rīti* according to his own admission is a collocation of poetic excellences pertaining both to words and their senses. And by sense (*artha*) Vāmana meant, of course, the primary sense (*mukhyārtha* or *vācyārtha*) of a word. But *śabda* and *artha* were admitted on all hands to be the body of literary art, from Daṇḍin downwards. So how could *śabda-guṇas* that consisted in the sound-effects, produced by particular modes of arrangement of the various words, be regarded as the soul of poetry? The same contention applies to *artha-guṇas* as well. Besides, the whole structure of the *Rīti* system is based on the foundation of a fundamentally false and erroneous assumption that poetic excellences like *mādhurya*, *ojas*, *prasāda*, etc., were the attributes of audible sounds, taken either individually or collectively. This was certainly the most materialistic conception of *guṇas*. The poetic excellences must rest in a soul of which they are attributes just as human excellences like bravery, heroism, etc., inhere in the inner spirit of the human being.[8] To conceive sounds as *sweet* or *harsh* in their own right irrespective

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[1] Vide: 'rīti-dhvanivādamatayor iyāṅstu bhedaḥ | tatra prathame rītir ātmā kāvyasya tadvyavahāraprayojakā guṇāh | carame tu dhvanir ātmā sa eva tadvyavahāraprayojaka iti | ubhayatrāpi ātmaniṣṭhā guṇāh | śabdārthayugalaṃ śarīram—tanniṣṭhā alaṁkārā iti ca sarvam aviśiṣṭam | '—*Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti*.

[2] 'tatra kavirahasyaṃ Sahasrākṣaḥ samāmnāsīt, auktikam Uktigarbhaḥ, rītinirṇayaṃ Suvarṇanābhaḥ . . .'—*Op. cit.*, Chap. 1.

[3] *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 40-41.

[4] *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, I, 32.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, 1-2.

[6] *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra*, I, 2, 6, 11.

[7] *Ibid*, III, 1, 1–3. Samudrabandha, however, while, commenting on Rūyyaka's text: 'tadevam alaṁkārā eva kavye pradhānam iti prācyānāṃ matam', observes that Vāmana too, like the other ancients, did not differentiate between *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras*: 'guṇālaṁkārayoḥ śobhāhetutvāviśeṣād bhedāvivakṣayā Vāmanam apyantarbhāvya prācyānām ityuktam'—*Alaṁkārasarvasva*, pp. 6-7, (T.S.S. edn.).

[8] Vide *Kāvyaprakāśa*, VIII, 1.

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of their relation to something else was tantamount to holding that heroism is a property of the body.[1] The *Rīti* theorists proceeded as far as the *guṇas* but stopped there without realizing that they were but sign-posts pointing to the inner-most principle—viz. *Rasa*. It is true that Vāmana and even earlier authors like Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa had accorded a place of honour to the entity of *rasa* in their respective scheme of poetics. But with Vāmana *rasa* is an excellence of the sense (*artha-guṇa*) called *Kānti*[2], while Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa reduce it to a species of *alaṁkāra*. Thus, here too Vāmana made an appreciable improvement over the position of his predecessors.[3] Nevertheless, the lack of realization on Vāmana's part that the collocation of *guṇas* which he termed *rīti* was itself nothing but an excellence belonging to the sound, a purely extraneous element in poetry, was still there.[4] Besides, as is often the case with authors outside the *Dhvani* school, Vāmana's own statements bespeak a confusion in his mind as to the relative importance of style and emotion in literary compositions. The *kārikā*:

'sati vaktari satyarthe sati śabdānuśāsane |
asti tanna vinā yena parisravati vāṅ-madhu ||'

cited by him[5] in praise of the *Vaidarbhī* style clearly proves that *vāṅ-madhu* or the emotional element[6] was the ultimate end to be realized through the mechanism of *rīti*, that was as much auxiliary to that end as grammatical correctness of words, propriety of ideas and poetic embellishments. The difference between *rīti* on the one hand and *śabda*, *artha* and *alaṁkāra* on the other was not comparable to the difference that subsisted between the soul and the body through which it manifests itself, as the theorists of the *Rīti* school erroneously believed. All of them were equally extraneous, the only difference lying in the degree of their respective proximity and essentiality with reference to *Rasa*—the quintessence of poetic art. It is to this confusion that Ānandavardhana refers in his *Dhvanyāloka* when he states that *Rīti* theorists unlike the other Negativists had a vision,

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[1] The following observations of Professor I. A. Richards in his *Principle of Literary Criticism* should be noted in this connection: 'There are no gloomy and no gay vowels or syllables, and the army of critics who have attempted to analyse the effects of passages into vowel and consonantal collocations have, in fact, been merely amusing themselves.' (p. 137). Again: 'Here again we see how impossible it is to consider rhythm or metre as though it were purely an affair of the sensory aspect of syllables and could be dissociated from their sense and from the emotional effects which come about through their sense,' (p. 142). And somewhat later: 'The fact that we appreciatively use such words as 'lulling', 'stirring', 'solemn', 'pensive', 'gay', in describing metres is an indication of their power more directly to control emotion. (p. 145).

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 2, 15.

[3] As Professor Sovani observes: 'Vāmana made a great advance over the Alaṁkāra school by including Rasas among the necessary characteristics of poetry. Daṇḍin had allowed Rasas to be included among Alaṁkāras. He had meant by Mādhurya absence of vulgarity and did not contemplate the inclusion of Rasas under Mādhurya as he himself explicitly says in ii, 292. Now Vāmana, who had great partiality for dramatic poetry, saw that Rasas were among the essential properties of poetry and included them under Kānti. Absence of vulgarity was considered as essential but was included under Udāratā.'—*Loc. cit.*

[4] Comp. 'etāś ca rītayo nālaṁkārāḥ, kiṁ tarhi—śabdāśrayā guṇā iti'—Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, p. 10 (N.S.P. edn.). Also: 'kecit rītyādīnāṁ api guṇatvaṁ manyante'—Vāsudeva on Rajaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 2, (Kavyamāla edition).

[5] Vāmana's *vṛtti* on I, 2, 11.

[6] As Gopendra Tripurahara explains: 'iha madhuśabdena mukhyārthāsambhavāt sahṛdaya-hṛdayair āsvādyaḥ samagrasaundaryasamunmiṣito raso lakṣyate'—*Kāmadhenu*.

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howsoever dim, of the ultimate essence of poetry, viz., *rasadhvani*, and being unable to expound it with precision they promulgated the theory of *rīti* as the soul of poetry.[1] The style (*rīti*) must be attuned to the emotion in view, which alone is the ultimate absolute element in poetry. The *Rīti* theorists erred because they regarded style as revealed by an assemblage of several or all poetic excellences, depending on a juxtaposition of words and senses in certain well-defined modes as the sole end in view of the poet, which, however, is not the case. Poetic styles (*rītis*) were as much relative as any other factor.[2] *Vaidarbhī*, because of the apparent tenderness of letters and lack of compounds, could not always be regarded as the best vehicle for the poet to couch his thoughts in. It was foolish and vain to choose among the three distinct modes of style enumerated by Vāmana and cling to the one disregarding the claims of the other two as advised by him.[3] It revealed only a lack of real poetic intuition. *Rīti* in the ultimate analysis was nothing but a garb in which the poet's soul likes to clothe itself in order to show itself to the best effect. And what is the soul of the poet but his complete psychosis in which the emotive element plays the chief rôle? So it is only logical to expect that the outward manifestation would also undergo a corresponding change along with the variation of the inner emotional content. Otherwise there would be nothing but discord and disharmony. Thus, every form of literary style was related to some suitable emotion. Bharata long ago grasped this cardinal truth, when of the four dramatic styles, viz., *Bhāratī*, *Kauśikī*, *Sāttvatī* and *Ārabhaṭī*, he ascribed each to its proper dramatic sentiment.[4]

All the later authors from Pratīhārendurāja downwords, who came after Ānandavardhana and as such had an access to his *magnum opus*, the *Dhvanyāloka*, did not fail to incorporate in their observations on *rītis* and *vṛttis* Ānandavardhana's subtle pronouncements thereon. From now on they did never treat of *vṛttis* or *rītis* or *guṇas* as absolute poetic entities, but judged them in their relation with the emotion, of which they were all accessories.[5] And coming to Rudraṭa we find that he distinctly assigns the various styles to their proper emotions. As he states:

> '*vaidarbhī-pāñcālyau preyasi karuṇe bhayanakādhutayoḥ |*
> *lāṭiyā-gauḍīye raudre kuryād yathaucityam ||*'
>
> —*Kāvyālaṁkāra*, XV, 20.

In conclusion, we should note that style is an outward embodiment of the complete psychosis of the poet in action, nothing more and nothing less. It is the man revealing his own self. So logically it is impossible to enumerate and describe literary styles as it is impossible to enumerate and describe the individual poetic selves. Kuntaka distinctly realized this and consequently strongly criticised the attempt of the *Rīti* theorists to fix the number of literary styles at any exact figure, though he indicates

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[1] *Ibid.*, III, 4, 6. '*asphuṭasphuritaṃ kāvyaṭattvam etad yathoditam |*
aśaknuvadbhir vyākarttuṁ rītayaḥ sampravarttitaḥ ||'
Vide *Locana* thereon.

[2] Compare: '*tejaḥ kṣamā vā naikāntaṃ kālajñasya mahīpateḥ |*
naikam ojaḥ prasādo vā rasabhāvavidaḥ kaveḥ ||'
—*Śiśupālavadha*, II.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 2, 14-15.

[4] Vide *Dhvanyāloka*, III, 33; also III, 47 and *Locana* thereon.

[5] Compare: '*atas tās tāvad vṛttayo rasādyabhivyaktyanuguṇavarṇavyavahārātmikāḥ prathamam abhidhīyante | tāś ca tisraḥ paruṣopanāgarikāgrām atvabhedāt*'—Pratīhārendurāja's *Laghuvṛtti* on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkārasārasaṁgraha*, pp. 4-5, (B.S.S. edn.).

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a broad and comprehensive scheme of threefold classification according as they are *sukumāra, vicitra* or *madhyama.*[1]

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[1] *Vakroktijīvita*, I. 24ff. Also: prativacanaṃ pratipuruṣaṃ tadavānta rajētitaḥ pratipriti | ānantyāt saṃkṣipya proktā kavibhiś caturdhaiva'—Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Chap. I, pp. 11-12. (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

COULD MUḤAMMAD SHÁH SÚR CONQUER ARAKAN?

By NIROD BANDHU SANYAL, M.A., B.L., *Professor of History,*
Vidyasagar College, Nabadwip

A silver rupee of Sultan Shamsu-d-dín Muḥammad Sháh Ghází, struck in 962 A.H. (1555 A.D.), bears the mint-name Arkan.[1] But a doubt has recently been expressed as regards the accuracy of this reading. 'It is hardly possible,' observes Dr. Habibullah, 'to accept Banerjee's statement that Muḥammad Sháh Súr conquered Arakan in 1555. It not only conflicts with the known facts respecting Bengal's hold in the south-east at this period, but is exclusively based on a clearly wrong reading by Wright of a mint-name on one of Muḥammad's coins.'[2] In this connection he further explains: 'The marginal legend was read as *Zarb arakan* but it is clearly *rikab*. What has been read as *A* of Arakan is obviously the dot of *B* of Zarb and the supposed dot of *N* appears below what should be read as *B* of *rikab*. Besides, the Muslims never used the anglicized term Arakan; they always called it Rakhang, the nearest approximation to the true Burmese Rakhaing.'[3]

A close examination of this coin will, however, disclose that the emendation suggested is unfounded and open to greater doubt than the reading so disputed. The mint-name as recorded on the margin of the coin can with little hesitation be read as follows: ضرب
ارکان

The only mistake which has been committed in representing the name is the erroneous insertion of the dot below the last letter. But inconsistencies of the like are not uncommon in Muslim numismatics. And so, if the other components of the name call for no reasonable doubt, the correction of the last will hardly justify a dispute. Besides, it will also be noted that in suggesting the substitute, the critic ignores the ا (Alif) that intervenes between ب of ضرب and ارکان. Besides, he forgets that this is no solitary issue of Muḥammad Sháh Súr bearing the same mint-name.[4] In a second example of the same series in the British Museum cabinet this ا (Alif) stroke can be discerned without the least hesitation. The accuracy of the reading, confirmed by eminent numismatists like Lane Pool, Rodgers and Wright, can thus be questioned with little reason. And, if this reading is accepted, it will serve little purpose to dispute the use of this foreign term in preference to the native name. The conqueror who struck the name on the coin was a foreigner. If he preferred the foreign denomination, it is obviously because that this name was already gaining wide recognition in the country in which he lived.[5]

Let us now see what 'known facts' in history stand against the possibility of a raid on Arakan by the king of Bengal in 962 A.H. It will

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[1] Wright, H. N., *I.M.C.*, Vol. II, 229, p. 180; also Rodgers, C. J., *I.M.C.*, Pt. I, 8908, p. 150; also cf. *B.M.C.*, 152, p. 56.
[2] Habibullah, A. B. M., 'Arakan in the Pre-Mughal History of Bengal,' *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36, n. 8.
[4] Cf. *B.M.C.*, 152, p. 56, pl. VII.
[5] For use of the term Arakan by Muslim writers, cf. Shihabuddin Talish, quoted in Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 118 and ff.

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presently be seen that a careful survey of contemporaneous events never yields positive data to disprove this raid. The main plank on which Dr. Habibullah bases his view is that Arakan had at this period a strong king on its throne, while Bengal was weak. In support of his contention, he pleads that Meng Beng (1531–1553) is 'said to have retained his hold on Chittagong';[1] and it can be easily imagined that no raid on Arakan can be attempted without a base at Chittagong. The confusion that prevailed in Bengal on the fall of the Hussainis obviously presented an easy opportunity to the aggressive Meng Beng to push his frontiers northward, and he is known to have occupied Chittagong between the years 1538 and 1542,[2] and even struck coins there[3] as a token of his sovereignty in the annexations he earned in Bengal. He was not, however, permitted to enjoy this possession unmolested. In the cold season of 1546-47, when Meng Beng was struggling for his very existence against his Burmese adversary, the king of Tipperah not only carried the port by a coup, but also advanced as far as Ramu.[4] He failed however to plant a permanent footing on the new soil, and as soon as Meng Beng found himself free at home, he turned against the intruder on the north, and drove him back to his own borders. The incident, however, serves as an eye-opener, how arduous it was for the king of Arakan to retain his grip on his possessions in Bengal. It was possible only for a very strong and capable ruler in a bad age for Bengal, lacking an efficient settled rule, and it was exactly this opportunity that permitted him to encroach northward at the expense of his weak neighbour. But it will however be noted that in the year 1553 the tables were turned. In that year, the able Meng Beng was removed by death, while Bengal gained a strong and sagacious king in Muḥammad Sháh Súr, who had already earned mature experience of the affairs of the province, having been its Governor since 1545, and who now freed himself from the imperial yoke on the death of Islám Sháh. Could he be blind to the importance of Chittagong, which was the main gateway to his capital Gaur, or to the doings of the Maghs, who secured there a safe refuge? Indeed, for the consolidation of his rule in Bengal, the need of reoccupation of Chittagong and expulsion of the Maghs must have claimed his prior attention to the conquest of Chunar, Jaunpur and Kalpi.[5] It is this natural logic which the numismatic data confirm. It is significant, too, that Dik-Kha who succeeded his father Meng Beng to the throne of Arakan assumed no Muhammadan designation or title, as his father had done as a token of his sovereignty in Chittagong.[6] This was only revived by Meng Phalaung (1571–1593), who held all Chittagong, part of Noakhali, and of Tipperah, and also continued by his successors as long as they retained the port.[7] This reasonably suggests Dik-Kha's loss of Chittagong. Indeed, Chittagong in these days became a bone of contention between the kings of Bengal, Arakan and Tipperah, who strove for supremacy over this important outpost.[8] As the coins discussed above suggest Dik-Kha's opposite on the throne of Bengal was not slow to avail himself of the

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[1] Habibullah, A. B. M., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[2] Cf. Campos, J. J. A., *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 40–43, and, Phayre, A. P., *History of Burma*, p. 172, n. 1.

[3] Phayre, A. P., *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[4] Phayre, A. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80, also, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 477, 483.

[5] *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, trans., Maulvi Abdus Salam (Bib. Ind.), pp. 146-47.

[6] Phayre, A. P., *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 173 and ff. Cf. Haque, M E. and Karim, A., *Árkán Rája-sabháy Báṅgálá Sáhitya*, p. 6.

[8] Campos, J. J. A., *op. cit.*, p. 21. Also, cf. *Rájamálá*, Vol. II, pp. 129 and ff.

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opportunity gained, and it will require no stretch of imagination to guess that, exactly as was achieved by Prince Nasrat some half a century earlier,[1] and planned by Shaista Khan a century later,[2] Muḥammad Sháh Súr followed his conquest of Chittagong by a raid on Arakan by way of an impressive lesson on the relentless foe. Dik-Kha died in 1555 after a short and obscure reign of only a couple of years and a half.[3] Did his reign terminate with the raid? What a great military feat this capture of Arakan was will be realized from the following account of a 17th century Persian writer: '. . . the kingdom of Arakan, which is a large country and great port of the east. One side of it is enclosed by high hills which join the mountains of Kashmir, China, Cathay and Mahachin. Another side is bordered by the ocean. Deep rivers and wide oceans enclose the western side, which adjoins Bengal. The land and water routes alike for entering the country are very difficult. Its conquest is an extremely hard task.'[4] Also, the capital held a very fortified position, being a seaport built on hillocks, overlooking rice-fields, intersected by canals that remained filled with water throughout the year.[5] No wonder therefore that the Bengal king signalized his eminent success by striking coins in the enemy's capital, apparently in answer to a similar act of Meng Beng at Chittagong a few years earlier.

A second plea raised by Dr. Habibullah in support of his argument is the supposed weakness of Bengal at this period as 'illustrated by the daring invasion of Sonargaon by the Tipperah king between 1543 and 1559'.[6] It is however stated on the contrary that this raid on Sonargaon was made by Vijayamanikya when Daud Shah Kararani (1572–1576) was fighting for his throne against the Mughals.[7]

This raid cannot thus be cited as a relevant evidence to prove the weakness of Bengal in the year 952/1555.

A note by Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah

ARAKAN

Ancient Name:

RAKHAING or RAKHAING—TANGYI), a corruption of REKHAIK, stated to be derived from RAKSHA (= PALI, YAKSHA)—the country of the man-eating monsters. One of the principal tribes in Arakan is also known as RAKHAING which is of Burmese stock. Early Buddhist missionaries called the country REKKHAPURA. Lama Tāranath has *RAKHAN*.

By the non-Burmese speaking people this name was pronounced differently, but all approximating to the RAKHAING.

Medieval Bengali texts pronounced it as *ROSHANG*. Eg: ALAWAL and Daulat Kazi (17th century).

RAJNALA also has.

I am not able to trace the philological reason for changing KH into SH. Nor have I the time to trace other references to this country in other Bengali texts.

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLI, pt. 1, 1872, pp. 336-337.
[2] Shihabuddin Talish, quoted in Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[3] Phayre, A. P., *op. cit.*, App. C., p. 303.
[4] Talish, *loc. cit.*, p. 118.
[5] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 477.
[6] Habibullah, A. B. M., *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[7] See *Rájamálá*, Vol. II, pp. 130-131.

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AIN-I-AKBARI (Text I, p. 388) has *ARKHANG*.

Earlier, Ibn Battuta seems to refer to this country (according to Col. Yule) under the name of BARAHNAKAR.

The AIN'S seems to be the earliest undoubted reference in Punan to this country.

BAHARISTANI GHAIBI (17th century) has a slightly modified form as RAKHANGI, besides the ARKHANG. It has also ACHRANG, which the translator equates with ARAKAN, but I think it should refer to the river and valley called ACHRANG or ACHLANG in the Tipperah Hill Tracts.

An approximation to this Punan form is found in Nicolo Conti who calls it *RACHA*.

From ARKHANG was undoubtedly derived the European form used to this day. I have not been able to trace the name in the Portuguese annals, e.g. of De Barros—DA ASIAN CASTANHEDL HISTORIA but a Latin Geography by Petavino, published in 1597 and based on travellers' accounts of the East, has ARACAM.

Similarly Van Linschtoen's English translation of 1598 has *ARAÇAN*. PIMENTA (1597) refers in Latin to the 'High and Mighty King of ARAKAN'. This is the English version, and the original may have been slightly different.

For tracing the process of the anglicization of the Persian ARKHANG, the Portuguese forms should be studied, including MANRIQVE, for I believe it was through the Portuguese that the process began. To the MUSLIMS OF INDIA and to the BENGALIS it was always ARKHANG or RAKHANG and ROSHANG. And never, to my knowledge, the European from ARACAN or ARAKAN, till the 18th century, unless Shibab-uddin Talish used it, whose text of the . . . . . I have not seen. Sir J. N. Sarkar has a copy.

Although I have not seen it, but it is not unlikely that the European would shorten the word and write as just *ARKAN* instead of the lengthened *ARAKAN*.

(Sd.) A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951.

JAJPUR AND THE BHAUMA-KARAS OF ORISSA

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund.*

(*Received April 10, 1950*)

In his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 87, Mr. Binayak Misra located Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka, the capital city of the celebrated Orissan imperial family, called Bhauma in the earlier and Kara in the later records, at modern Jajpur in the Cuttack district. He offered two arguments in support of the above suggestion. In the first place, 'it is described in the Oriya *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa, who flourished in the early part of the 15th century A.D., that one Viṣṇukara founded the rule of the Kara family over a holy land called Śivapura, with the aid of Bhīma the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira. This Śivapura can be identified with Śivadāsapura which is a part of Jajpur town in the Cuttack district.' Secondly, 'we find in the *Virajā-māhātmya* the mention of some shrines called Kusumeśvara, Laliteśvara and Daṇḍīśvara. Virajā is another name of Jajpur . . . . The names of these shrines seem to have owed their origin to Kusumahāra Lalitahāra and Daṇḍimahādevī of the Bhauma family.' The first of the arguments does not appear to be convincing at all; but the second of them, in spite of the fact that there is no trace of any temple called Kusumeśvara, Laliteśvara and Daṇḍīśvara at present at Jajpur, seems to have some force, although it was not sufficient to prove the point definitely. An inscription, published by Mr. Misra himself a few years later in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 292-93, however, proves that Unmaṭṭakesarin (or, °siṁha) *alias* Śivakara I, the founder of the family's greatness, had his residence at *Virajas*, which is but a variant of *Viraja* or *Virajā*, the old name of Jajpur. On the strength of this evidence, I was inclined to believe that Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka, from where the Bhauma-Kara rulers issued their charters, was the name applied by the Bhaumas either to Virajā (Jajpur) or to a new city in its suburbs or vicinity.[1] Unfortunately not a single of the many inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara rulers, so far discovered, was found at Jajpur, although some of the Māṭṛkā images in which Jajpur abounds[2] and a fairly big inscription containing Buddhist formulae (now preserved in the compound of the S.D.O.'s bungalow at Jajpur) could have been safely referred to the age of the Bhauma-Karas who flourished in the period between the seventh and the ninth century A.D.

Early in January 1950, I visited Jajpur with a view to tracing whatever remains there may still exist of the time of the ancient Bhauma-Karas. I went to see the existing temples. Unfortunately none of the temples looked earlier than the late-medieval period and the images, which were found at Jajpur proper and are mostly earlier, are usually uninscribed. At Solampur, about two miles from Jajpur on the other side of the Vaitaraṇī river, I found some inscribed Buddhist images embedded in the walls of

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1 At first I suggested that Jajpur was a secondary capital of the Bhauma-Karas. Vide *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 103.

2 Jajpur became one of the most celebrated seats of the Mother-goddess cult and Tantrik worship in the medieval period. See *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 92, 98-160.

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the late Raghunāthjī temple. The inscriptions are unimportant except from the viewpoint of palaeography. They must have originally belonged to a Buddhist religious establishment that may be ascribed to the latter part of the age of the Bhauma-Karas. The earlier members of this royal family are known to have been Buddhists and to have patronized Buddhism, although the religion seems to have continued to flourish at Jajpur long after these Buddhist kings and to have ultimately faded into the Tantra cult for which the place became famous. But I was really very much disappointed in not being able to find out any Bhauma-Kara inscription at Jajpur, especially because I went there with high expectations. The earliest inscription that I found at Jajpur is incised on a neglected image of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā lying on the main road near the Trilocana temple. Its characters may be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to about the seventh century A.D. It refers to a queen named Vatsadevī. Although it is possible to suggest that this Vatsadevī was the wife of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings, there is nothing in the short inscription to associate her definitely with any known king or royal family of ancient Orissa. I was thus coming away from Jajpur perfectly disappointed. Just then, however, a local enthusiast named Chandrasekhar Das, who is a poet and an inhabitant of Śivadāsapura within the Jajpur town, met me at the bungalow and gave me information about the existence of a new inscription in the ruins of the Haṁseśvara temple at Śivadāsapura, not far from the celebrated Virajā temple of Jajpur. At once I accompanied Mr. Das to the spot and examined the inscription. I then considered my visit to Jajpur as quite successful and satisfactory. This inscription was found to be a record of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The ruins of the Haṁseśvara temple stand on the bank of a small tank. I was told that the whole site was originally covered with jungles which were cleared a few years back. Of the temple itself, the plinth and floor and the lowest portion of the side and back walls are the only existing remains. Absolutely no trace of the front wall as well as the main parts of the other walls and the roof is there. The floor of the ruined temple was found covered with cowdung cakes in various stages of preparation. The inscribed stone is a black piece embedded in the existing portion of the back wall. It appeared to me that the stone did not originally belong to the Haṁseśvara temple but to an earlier structure, the materials of which were utilized in the construction of the building now in ruins.

On examination, the inscription in question was found to be fragmentary, only the left half of the stone being now preserved. It contains fragments of eight verses only. But fortunately the purpose of the record is clear in spite of its damaged condition. Verse 2 refers to king [Śu*]-bhākara as belonging to the Bhauma family. Although we know that there were no less than five[1] kings of that name in the family of the Bhauma-Karas, the identification of Śubhākara mentioned in the record with an earlier king of that name is suggested by the reference to the family as Bhauma and not as Kara. The identity of the king is, however, made absolutely certain by the next verse which speaks of Śubhākara's queen Mādhavadevī. It is already known from other records of the family that Mādhavadevī was the wife of the early Bhauma king, the *Parama-saugata*

[1] So long we knew of four Bhauma-Kara kings named Śubhākara. Recently I have examined the Teruṇḍā (now Utkal University) plate of a new Śubhākara who was the son of Śivakara II from Mohinīdevī and issued the charter in the year 100. The inscription is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 49ff.

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Śubhākara I, who was the son of the *Parama-tāthāgata* Śivakara I Unmaṭṭa-siṁha and was the issuer of the Neulpur copper-plate inscription. I have elsewhere assigned this king to the third quarter of the seventh century A.D.[1] Verse 3 of our inscription says that queen Mādhavadevī was responsible for the construction of a temple of the god Bhava (i.e. Śiva) called Mādhaveśvara. It is seen that the queen was a Śaiva although her husband was a Buddhist. The temple seems to have been built at the site of the present Haṁseśvara temple in ruins. Verse 5 refers to the excavation of a *vāpī* or tank which may be no other than the tank, now almost filled up, on the bank of which lie the ruins of the Haṁseśvara temple.

The present inscription is thus the only Bhauma-Kara record that seems to come directly from the ancient Bhauma-Kara capital within the boundaries of modern Jajpur. I have elsewhere suggested[2] that the name of Jajpur is a corruption of Sanskrit *Yayātipura* and was derived from the name of one of the Somavaṁśī monarchs named Yayāti. The Somavaṁśīs had their headquarters at Yayātinagara in Northern Orissa and Jajpur (Yayātipura) seems to have become their secondary capital after they had extended their power over Southern Orissa. Probably Jajpur was also styled Yayātinagara from which the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa was known to the early Muslim chroniclers as Jājnagar (i.e., Yayātinagara). The imperial Gaṅgas originally had their capital at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkākulam); but they later (sometime before the end of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III, *circa* 1211–39 A.D.)[3] transferred their headquarters to Abhinava-Vārāṇasī (i.e., New Benares), Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka or Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka, which is the modern Cuttack. Jajpur, however, seems to have enjoyed considerable reputation as the former capital of Orissa during the rule of the later members of the imperial Gaṅga family, who, like the earlier Somavaṁśīs, may have made it a secondary residence.

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1 *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 103-04.

2 Cf. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

3 This is known from a newly discovered inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III. The inscription is the Nagari plates which I am publishing in the *Epigraphia Indica*. See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 209ff.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

PURĪ COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTION OF GAṄGA BHĀNU II OF ORISSA

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund*

(*Received June 20, 1950*)

In the *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1930, pp. 276 ff., R. D. Banerji discussed the historical importance of an as yet unpublished copperplate grant of the Eastern Gaṅga king Bhānu II (*circa* 1305–27 A.D.) of Orissa. He introduced the inscription with the following words: 'A set of plates, recently discovered in the Purī District, was brought to me in 1925 by a student of the Calcutta University, named Mr. Nirmal Kumar Basu, M.Sc. These plates are six in number and only the first is inscribed on one side. There is no ring and the plates were brought to me loose. Mr. Basu informed me that the plates were brought to the Mahant of the Emar Maṭha, a rich and powerful religious establishment in the town of Purī, by another Mahant of a village Maṭha . . . . . The first five plates, beginning with the second side of the first plate and ending with that of the fifth plate are in verse. They give the complete genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa from the Moon to Bhānudeva II. In these five plates there are altogether 191 lines of writing and the draft is a close copy of the Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II. Up to Narasiṁha II, the genealogy occupies 174 lines. Eighteen lines are devoted to the praise of his son Bhānudeva II[1]; but the whole of line 191 is not completely taken up by the last verse and a little space has been left empty at the end.' It is a matter of regret that the inscription cannot be traced now[2]; but fortunately the facsimile of the first side of the sixth plate of the above set, containing details about the grant made by Bhānu II, was published by B. C. Mazumdar with a short note in his *Orissa in the Making*, 1925, plate facing p. 202. I have dealt with the importance of the record in a paper entitled 'Gaṅga Bhānudeva II and Puruṣottama-Jagannātha' published in the *Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society*, Balangir, Vol. I, pp. 251–53. It has been shown there that both Mazumdar and Banerji failed to read and interpret the record correctly and that their speculations about the contents and implications of the inscription are especially unfortunate. The obverse of the sixth plate of the Purī copperplate inscription of Bhānu II, a facsimile of which was published by Mazumdar, however, represents the most important part of the record and contains exceptionally valuable historical informations. The number of the published copperplate inscriptions of the later Gaṅga kings, which contain many technical expressions peculiar

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[1] The verses describing Bhānu II are copied in the grants of Narasiṁha IV, published in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 145-46. The later imperial Gaṅga monarchs used to copy the introductory verses from the documents of their predecessor, often with slight variations, and added to them some new verses dealing with their own reigns, composed by their court-poets.

[2] In December 1950, when I was at Purī in course of my annual search for inscriptions, I succeeded in tracing the plates in the Punjabi Maṭha. I am trying to secure the inscription on a temporary loan for examination.

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to themselves, is also not many.[1] I therefore propose to edit the above fragment of the record from the facsimile in the *Orissa in the Making*.

It is well known that the copperplate grants of the later Gaṅga monarchs offer the genealogy of the family in verses with only a single prose passage containing some stray names and that the above part is followed by a prose section recording the actual grant made by a king on a particular occasion. In the record under discussion the genealogy in verse and prose (practically the same as that found in the grants of Narasiṁha II and Narasiṁha IV) occupied the first five plates, while the actual grant was recorded on both sides of the sixth plate, the inscription on the reverse mostly containing the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The inscription on the obverse of the sixth plate of the Purī copperplate inscription of Bhānu II, which is the subject of our discussion, is therefore an almost complete record. It will be clear from our discussion below that only a few names in the list of the rent-paying subjects attached to the grant in question are the important thing that is missing from this otherwise complete document.

There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the face of the plate published. Lines 11–14 are shorter than the other lines of writing as there is a margin meant for the ring-whole about the centre of the left end of the plate. The facsimile, however, shows no trace of the ring-whole. There are about 44 *akṣaras* in a full line, while the four shorter lines contain each about 34 *akṣaras*. The characters belong to the proto-Bengali script, which I prefer to call *Gauḍī lipi*, and are similar to those used in the copperplate grants of Narasiṁha II (*circa* 1278–1305 A.D.). Of initial vowels, we have in the inscription *a* (lines 19, 20, 21), *ā* (lines 6, 17), *i* (line 22), *u* (lines 3, 8, 12, 16), *ṛ* (line 19), *e* (lines 12, 17, 20), *o* (lines 22, 23) and *au* (lines 4, 16). The form of *ṛ* resembles that of *ru* and *au* is written in two different forms (cf. *Aurāliauḍa*° in line 16 and *Aurva* in line 4). Medial *ū* has often been used for medial *u* and the latter for the former as in many other early and medieval records of Orissa. The *anusvāra* is in some cases of the Devanāgarī type but of the Bengali type in others (cf. *nāmakaṁ grāmaṁ* in line 6). The consonant *bh* has also two different forms (cf. °*bharā-bhāra* in line 1; *bhārgava* in line 4; *bhīmarāja* in line 11). *B* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. Figures for 1–5 have been used in the inscription in lines 21–23. The figure for 2 is written like the English and Telugu 3 as in some other medieval Orissan inscriptions.[2] As regards language and orthography also the record resembles the grants of Narasiṁha II. There are instances of Prakritism in words like *macchya* for *matsya* (line 18), wrong spelling in words like *simā* for *sīmā* (lines 7, 12, 17), want of the *sandhi* in words like *bahiḥkṛtya* (line 18), *senādhyakṣa-Apāyi*° (line 20), etc., and wrong use of the *anusvāra* in words like *vāṭik-aikaṁ* (line 20), *māna-daśaṁ* (line 21), etc., etc.

The inscription is dated in words in the Śaka year 1234. The actual date given is Śauri-vāra (i.e. Saturday) and the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Dhanuḥ (i.e., Pauṣa). The date corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd December, 1312 A.D. The year is said to have corresponded to the seventh *Aṅka* year, theoretically of the god Puruṣottama (Jagannātha)

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[1] I have recently examined a number of copperplate grants belonging to the later Gaṅga monarchs. These records are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

[2] See the Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II (*J.A.S.B.*, *loc. cit.*, Plate X, left margin) and the Polsara plates of Arkeśvara (Plate III, reverse, last line) to be shortly published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The date of the Polsara plates, Kaliyuga year 4248, was read as 4348 in *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 216f. due to confusion

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but actually of the Gaṅga king Bhānu II who considered himself a deputy of the god in the matter of ruling the Gaṅga dominions.[1]

The epithet *viśvambharā-bhāra-vahana-mahanīya*, applied to the god Puruṣottama in our record points to his identification with Viṣṇu who is believed to carry the burden of the earth in the form of the tortoise. The Śrīkūrmam inscription[2] of Śaka 1231 refers to the 3rd *Aṅka* year of Bhānu II theoretically as that of his divine overlord Jagannātha (Puruṣottama). The same divine overlord of Bhānu II is mentioned in the Siṁhācalam inscription of Śaka 1241 and the 13th *Aṅka* year as the *Devādideva*-Jagannātha.[3] The Bhuvaneswar inscription[4] of the 34th *Aṅka* year of Anaṅgabhīma III (*circa* 1211–38 A.D.) similarly refers to that king's dominions as *Puruṣottama-sāmrājya*. Thus Anaṅgabhīma III and Bhānu II, if not all the later Gaṅga monarchs,[5] considered themselves servants of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, like the present day Mahārājas of Purī. Cf. the cases of the Guhilot kings considering themselves *dewāns* of the god Ekaliṅgajī and of the rulers of Travancore regarding themselves as deputies of the god Padmanābhasvāmin.

The seventh year of the *Aṅka* reckoning corresponds to the fifth actual regnal year, as one has to omit the *Aṅka* years 1 and 6 according to rule. Śaka 1234 is thus given as the fifth regnal year of Bhānu II whose accession would then fall in Śaka 1230, i.e., 1308-09 A.D. There is, however, another inscription[6] of Bhānu II, which equates Śaka 1231 with the king's third *Aṅka* year, i.e. second actual regnal year. This seems to suggest that Bhānu II ascended the throne in Śaka 1228 and not in Śaka 1230 as indicated by the inscription under review.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the words *svasti* and *śubham* = *astu*. It then gives the date discussed above and refers to the god Puruṣottama (Jagannātha) as the lord of the Gaṅga dominions. Next it says that on the said date, *vīra-śrīmad*-Bhānudeva-rāutta-varman,[7] while he was staying at Śrī-Puruṣottama-kaṭaka (i.e., Purī or Puruṣottama-purī) on the shore of the southern sea (i.e., the Indian Ocean including the entire Bay of Bengal) made a gift for the increase of his own longevity, health and wealth. The word *rāutta* stands for Sanskrit *rāja-putra* and was used as a feudatory title. This is because king Bhānu II regarded himself as a feudatory of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Purī. The grant was made in favour of the *sāndhivigrahika* (the king's minister for peace and war) Śrī-Raṅgadāsaśarman who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra* having the Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpanuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and was a student of a part of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda. The Brāhmaṇa official of the king was granted two villages. The first of these was a village called Somanāthapaḍā which was granted together with the localities known as Paṅgapaḍā, Sūgalapura and Daṇḍapāśibhūmi, and was situated in the Koṇṭarāvaṅga *viṣaya*. The literal meaning of *Daṇḍapāsi-bhūmi* is 'the land belonging to the Daṇḍapāśika (Oriya *Daṇḍuāsi*, meaning a village watchman)'. The second of the two villages was Ākūrvā situated in the Pūrva-khaṇḍa or eastern

[1] Cf. *J.K.H.R.S.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 35-36.

[3] Cf. Rangacharya, *List*, Vol. III, p. 1676.

[4] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

[5] It may be pointed out that many of these rulers are known to have assumed the subordinate title *Rāuta*.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 35–36.

[7] Muslim chroniclers appear to say that the Gaṅgas were Brāhmaṇas. This Kṣatriya name-ending *varman* (cf. also *Narasimhadevavarmā*, *J.A.S.B.*, I, 1895, p. 154) is thus interesting to note. Cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 492.

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subdivision of the Rāvaṅga *viṣaya*. The grant was made a free gift and a rent-free holding. It is said that king *vīra-śrīmad*-Bhānudeva-rāütta, while he was staying[1] at the *abhyantara-navara* at Srī-Puruṣottama-kaṭaka (i.e. Purī), gave orders, apparently in regard to the grant, to *Cakravarti*-Narendradeva-mahāpātra.[2] The word *navara*[3] is an Oriya corruption of Sanskrit *nagara*, the whole expression meaning the inner part of (or, royal residence at) Puruṣottama-kaṭaka or Purī. In Oriya, the word *navara* has the sense of 'inner apartment' and 'royal residence'. It should be pointed out that the same word *navara* also occurs in the passage *Remuṇā-kaṭake navar-ābhyantara(re) vijaya-samaye* in the Kendupatna plates[4] of Narasiṁha II. The expression *bhitara-navara* in the grants of Narasiṁha IV[5] is the same as *abhyantara-navara* of our inscription. The *mudala* is said to have been received verbally from the said *Cakravarti*-Narendradeva-mahāpātra by the *Puro-parīkṣaka-Sāndhivigrahin* Bāla. The word *mudala* is usually found in some later Gaṅga charters as in the second case of its use in our record.[6] It is a Telugu word relating to the function of the *dūtaka* or executor of a charter and means the order of execution of a grant. The order of execution of the present grant appears to have been addressed by the king to Narendradeva-mahāpātra who transmitted it to the *Sāndhivigrahin* Bāla. The expression *puro* before official designations, especially before *Parīkṣaka*, is also found in other later Gaṅga records. *Puro* may indicate a principal officer of a particular class and *parīkṣaka* an inspector.[7] In the grants of Narasiṁha IV we have the same expression in the form *poro-parīkṣa*. The official Bāla was possibly the chief officer in charge of inspection in the ministry of peace and war in the administration of Bhānu II. But the designation *dvāra-parīkṣa* or *duāra-parīkṣa* in the records of Narasiṁha IV may suggest that *puro* or *poro* has something to do with Sanskrit *pura*. This meaning, however, does not suit the designations *puro-śrīkaraṇa* and *puro-pratihasta* possibly meaning the chief scribe and the chief representative respectively, unless it is thought that these officials were somehow associated with the *pura* or capital of the Gaṅga king.

Lines 9–17 describe the boundaries of the two villages. The boundaries of Somanāthapaḍā are said to have been determined by the *Puro-śrī-karaṇa-senāpti* Kacū. *Śrīkaraṇa* indicates a scribe-accountant. *Senāpti* is the same as Sanskrit *senāpati* or general. It is probably to be suggested that the official Kacū was holding two offices, viz., that of the head of the records department as well as that of a leader of armies. The boundaries of Somanāthapaḍā, specified according to the determination of Kacū, were as follows. In the west it was bounded by the eastern limit (which included half of a river) of Paṭavāḍapaḍā and in the east by the *gopatha* (cattle track) forming half of the *daṇḍā* (boundary line) at the western limit of

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[1] According to Oriya usage, *vijayinā* would mean here *avasthitena*. Cf. Oriya *vijaya, bije*.

[2] The same person seems to be also mentioned as *poro-parīkṣa-mahāpātra*-Narendradeva-*Cakravartī* in the grant issued by Narasiṁha IV, grandson of Bhānu II, in Śaka 1305 (1383 A.D.). See *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, p. 149.

[3] Cf. *Pramoda Abhidhāna*, s.v.

[4] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 254.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 149, 151.

[6] Cf. *puro-parīkṣaka-pātra-Trilocana-Jenā-mudalena* (Alalpur plates), *hali-Sahrāda-mudalena* (Kendupatna plates), *puro-parīkṣaka-pātra-Raṅgu-vājapeyi-mudalena* (Asanakhali plates), etc., of the records of Narasiṁha II. The Alalpur and Asan-khali plates are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

[7] *Parīkṣa* is the same as Oriya *parichā* meaning a village headman, the manager of an establishment, the chief priest of a temple, etc.

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Mūṇḍidāgrāma. In the south it was bounded by the northern limit of Bhīmarāja-śāsana (i.e., the gift land belonging to or named after a person called Bhīmarāja) and in the north by the southern limit of Māhāvalapaḍā. The boundaries of Ākūrvāgrāma in the eastern sub-division of the Rāvaṅga *viṣaya* were determined by a representative of the *Puro-śrīkaraṇa-māhāsenāpti* Kā[ma*]deva, called *Pratihasta Nāyaka*-Mādhodāsa.[1] The official designation of Kāmadeva is similar to that of Kacū who determined the boundaries of the other village, the only difference being that while the latter is called *senāpti* the former is designated *māhāsenāpti* being the same as Sanskrit *mahāsenāpati*. The word *Pratihasta*, meaning the same thing as *pratinidhi* or representative, is also known from other records of the later Gaṅga monarchs. The responsibility in regard to the determination of the boundaries lay with Kāmadeva; but the work was done by Mādhodāsa on his behalf. The word *nāyaka*, apparently a caste or family name, is similarly found with personal names in other inscriptions. The village called Ākūrvāgrāma is said to have been bounded in the west by the eastern boundary line (which included half of a river bed) of Taḍāsama-Duggala and in the east by the western boundary line (including half of a river bed) of Morasaḍā-Sunaḍa. In the south it was bounded by the embankment of a canal (*joḍa-bandha*) forming the northern boundary of Aurāliauḍa-Savalo and in the north by the southern limit (including half of a river bed) of Vāṅkurvā-Moraḍa. It is further stated in our record that, in the said village of Ākūrvā, there was a plot of land measuring 26 *vāṭikās*, that had been previously granted by an earlier ruler, apparently a predecessor of Bhānu II, in favour of the god Puruṣottama (Jagannātha) and that the whole of the two villages of Somanāthapaḍā and Ākūrvā was now made the subject of the grant with the only exception of the said plot measuring 26 *vāṭikās*. The grant was made a perpetual rent-free holding endowed with the right to enjoy *avadāna*, water, land, fish, tortoise and old trees. The word *avadāna* possibly means here the power of alienation.[2] The exact area of a *vāṭī* or *vāṭikā*, as it was recognized in the days of the later Gaṅgas, cannot be determined. According to the *Pramoda-Abhidhāna*, an Oriya lexicon published in 1942, one *vāṭī* is now regarded as equal to 20 acres of land, although Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* seems to suggest only 12½ acres for a *vāṭī*.

The later Gaṅga monarchs usually applied a particular name to their *śāsana* or gift land.[3] The land granted by the present charter was styled Hariśaṅkarapura-*śāsana*. One *vāṭikā* of land is said to have been granted in favour of the *śāsan-ādhikārin Seṇādhyakṣa* Apāyiśarman who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pūtimāṣa *gotra* and was a student of the Śākala branch of the Ṛgveda. It is interesting to note that persons of the same Pūtimāṣa *gotra*, one of whom was also styled *Senāpati*, are known to have been the *Śāsanādhikārin* of some other charters or *Śāsanas* of the later Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II, father of Bhānu II. The *Śāsanādhikārin* usually received a small plot of land apparently as fees or commission for his work in

[1] Cf. *puro-śrīkaraṇ-Āllāla-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇena* (Alalpur plates), *puro-pratihast-Āllāladāsa-karaṇa-nala-pramāṇēna* (Asankhali plates), *puro-śrīkaraṇa-Śivadās-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇena* (Kendupatna plates), etc., of the records of Narasiṁha II. N. N. Vasu wrongly read *nāmaka* in the place of *nāyaka* in the Kendupatna plates (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 255).

[2] The word is used in the sense of 'a gift' in Oriya inscriptions. See *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, p. 91.

[3] Cf. Gaṅgānarasiṁhapura-śāsana (Kendupatna plates), Gaṅgarājadevapura-śāsana named after prince Gaṅgarājadeva (Asankhali plates), Allālapura-śāsana named after *Śāsanādhikārin Senāpati* Allālanāthaśarman (Alalpur plates), etc., in the records of Narasiṁha II.

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connection with a particular *Śāsana*. In one case the *Śāsanādhikārin* is known to have drafted the document.[1] Possibly he was responsible for writing the documents and for preserving them in his custody. The *Śāsanādhikārin* thus appears to have been the king's record-keeper, although he may have had other functions also at the same time. The engraver of the plates, named Pannāḍi-Māhāścanā, similarly received as fees 10 mānas of land (= $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *vāṭikā*). The name Pannāḍi is also met with as that of the engraver of a copperplate grant of Narasiṁha II. Another of his records was engraved by Pannāḍi-Raṇā. Whether Raṇā and Māhāścanā were sons of Pannāḍi cannot be determined.

It was also the custom of later Gaṅga monarchs to assign certain rent-paying subjects to each of their *śāsanas*.[2] There is a list of such rent-paying subjects allotted to the charter under discussion. This list includes: (1) the goldsmith Ravi-sādhu of the Dolatāṅga *haṭṭa* (market); (2) Vāḍu-sādhu, son of the *guḍika* (manufacturer or seller of sugar) Maheśvara, belonging to the Tārapura *haṭṭa*; (3) Koṇāi, grandson of the milkman Hari of the Khaḍioṅga *haṭṭa*; (4) Māṅka, son of the weaver Kaṇḍaru, belonging to the Mahantāpāḍi *haṭṭa*; (5) Jāguli-śreṣṭhin who was a *telin* (same as *tailika*) or oilman and belonged to a locality called Adhañca-Okhalā; and (6) a person who belonged to a market or locality, the name of which began with the letters *Pañceśa*. With these three *akṣaras* the writing on the obverse of Plate VI of the Purī copperplate inscription of Bhānu II under discussion abruptly ends. A comparison with other Gaṅga records shows that there were possibly only a few names of rent-paying subjects on the other side of the plate. The rent-payers were usually merchants and the specific mention of their caste names is very interesting to the student of the social and economic life of medieval Orissa.

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Puruṣottama-kaṭaka on the shore of the southern sea is undoubtedly the present Purī, also called Puruṣottama-purī, Jagannātha-purī, Puruṣottama-kṣetra, Jagannātha-kṣetra, Puruṣottama, etc. I have not been able to locate the Koṇṭarāvaṅga and Rāvaṅga *viṣayas* and the gift villages of Somanāthapaḍā and Ākūrvā. A number of villages have also been mentioned in determining the boundaries of the two gift villages and a number of *haṭṭas* (markets) in connection with the list of rent-paying subjects assigned to the charter. I have not been able to identify them. The Rāvaṅga *viṣaya* may however be the same as the Rāmaṅga *viṣaya* of the recently discovered Algum (near Sākhigopāl in the Purī District) inscription of the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. In that case, the *viṣaya* must have comprised the area round Algum.

TEXT[3]

1 [Siddham ‖][4] Svasti (‖*) Śū(Śu)bham = astu (‖*) Śaka-nṛpateḥ ‖[5] catustriṁśad - adhika - dvādaśa - śata - parimita - vatsareṣv = ativāhiteṣu viśva(ṁ*)bharā-bhāra-vaha-

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[1] The designation *Śāsanādhikārika* occurs in such records as the Nilgund plates of Vikramāditya VI and the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 155, 314.

[2] Cf. *Gaṅgarājadevapura-śāsanasy = āṅgatayā nānā-haṭṭīya-nānāvidhāḥ sapta prajā api prādāt* in the Asankhali plates of Narasiṁha II. The names of the seven rent-payers are not mentioned in that record. The Alalpur plates mention seven rent-payers allotted to the *śāsana* by names. The Kendupatna plates similarly mention four rent-payers by names.

[3] From the facsimile published in the *Orissa in the Making*, Plate facing p. 202.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

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2 [na*]-mahanīy-ety-ādi-pra[śa]sti-stoma - virājaṁāna - śrī-Pū(Pu)ruṣottamadevasya prava[r]ddhamāna-vijaya-rājye saptame = ṅke = bhili[khya]mā-

3 [ne] Dhanuḥ-kṛṣṇa-navamyāṁ Śauri-vāre Śrī-Puruṣottama-kaṭake Dakṣiṇa-mahodadhi-tīre vīra-śrīmad-Bhānudeva-rāutta-varmmā s[v]-ā-

4 [yu]r-ārogy-aiśvary-ābhivṛddhaye Vatsa-sagotrāya Bhārgava-Cyāvan-Āpnavāna-[1] A u r v a-Jāmadagnya-pravarāya Yajurved-āntargata-Kāṇva- [śā]kh-ai-

5 [ka]-deś-ādhyāyine sāndhivigrahika-śrī-Raṅgadāsaśarmmaṇe Koṇṭarāvaṅga - viṣaya - madhyam = adhyāsīna - Paṅgapaḍā - Sūgalapura-[Daṇḍa]-

6 [pā]śibhūmi-sahitaṁ Somanāthapaḍā-nāmakaṁ grāmaṁ Rāvaṅga-viṣaya-Pūrva-khaṇḍa-madhyam = adhyāsīna(m*) Ākūrvā-nāmaka-grāmañ= c = ety = e-

7 tad-grāma - dvayaṁ sarva-kara - va(ba)hirbhūtaṁ catuḥ - si(sī)m-āvacchinnam = akarīkṛtya prādāt | Śrī-Puruṣottama-kaṭake abhyan-tara-nava(ga)re vi-

8 jayinā vīra-śrīmad-Bhānū(nu)deva-rāuttena samājñāpita-Cakravartti-Narendradeva - Mahāpātra - mukhāta(t) prāpta - mudala - pū(pu)ro-parī[kṣa]-

9 ka-sāndhivigrahi-Vā(Bā)la-mudalena laddha(bdha)-grāma-dvayasya sīmāno likhyante(| *) Somanāthapaḍā - grāmasya puro-śrīkaraṇa--senāpti[2]-

10 Kacū-nirṇṇīta-likhana-prāmāṇyena paścimata(ḥ *) Paṭavāḍapaḍā pu(pū)rva - sīmā - nady - arddham = ādīkṛtya Mūṇḍidā - grāma - paś-cima-sīmā-

11 gopatha-daṇḍārddha-paryanta-pūrva-sīmā (|*) dakṣiṇato Bhīmarāja-śāsanīy-ottara-sīmānam = ādī[kṛ *]tya

12 Māhāvalapaḍā-dakṣiṇa-sīmāntaṁ(ntam) uttara-sīmā (|*) eva[ṁ *] catuḥ-si(sī)m-āvacchinna[ṁ] (nnam) ‖ o ‖ Rāva[ṇga]-vi-

13 ṣaya-Pūrva-khaṇḍa-madhyam = adhyāsīnasya Ākurvā-grāmasya puro-śrīkaraṇa-māhāsenāpti[2]-Kā(ma *)-

14 deva-pratihasta - n ā y a k a-Mādhodāsa-nirṇṇīta-sīmā-likhana-prāmā-ṇyen = āsya grāmasya pa[ści]-

15 matas = Taḍāsama-Duggala-pu(pū)rva-sīmā-daṇḍā-nady-arddhaṁ = ādīkṛtya Morasaḍā-Sunaḍa-paścima-s ī m ā-nady-arddha-paryantaṁ pūrva-[sī][mā |*]

16 dakṣiṇata Aurāliauḍa - Savalo - uta(tta)ra-sīmā - joḍa - va(ba)ndham = ādīkṛtya Vāṅkūrvā-Moraḍa-dakṣiṇa-sīmā-nady-arddha-paryanta[ṁ] -(ntam) utta-

17 ra-sīmā (|*) evaṁ catuḥ-si(sī)m-āvacchinnaṁ(nnam) | Ākūrvā-grāma-madhyāt śrī-Puruṣottamadevāya pu(pū)rva-rāja-datta-ṣaḍvi(ṁ *)śati-vāṭikā-pa[ri]-

18 mita[ṁ *] va(ba)hiḥkṛ(hiṣkṛ)tya grāma-dvayaṁ samastam = avadāna - j a l a - s t h a l a - macchya(tya)-kacchapa - purātanavṛkṣha-sahitam = ā-candr-ārkam = akarīkṛtya sā-

19 ndhivigrahika-śrī-Raṅgadāsaśarmmaṇe prādāt ‖[3] ‖ Asya[4] Hari-śaṅkara-pū(pu)ra-śāsane Pu(Pū)timāṣa-gotrāya Ṛ[g-ve]-

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[1] Read °*Āpnuvad-Aurva*.

[2] Read *senāpati*.

[3] There is an ornamental design here between the double *daṇḍas*. This is often found in later Gaṅga copperplate grants.

[4] Read *asmin*.

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20 d-āntarggata-Ś ā ṅ k a l a-ś ā k h-ādhyāyine śrīmata [1]-śāsan-ādhikāriṇe
senādhyakṣa [2]-Apāyiśarmmaṇe vāṭik-aikaṁ(kam) | etat-tāmvra-
(mra)-]ekha[ka]-Pa-
21 ṇāḍi-Māhāścaṇā-nāmne māna-daśaṁ(śam) ‖ Asya [3] śāsane Dolatāṅga-
haṭṭīya-svarṇṇakāra-Ravi-sādhū-(dhu)-nāmā ‖ 1 ‖ Tāṛapura-haṭṭī-
22 ya-guḍika-Maheśvara-sū(su)to Vāḍu-sādhū(dhu)-nāmā ‖ 2 ‖ Khaḍioṅga-
haṭṭīya-gopāla-Hari-naptā Koṇāi-nāmā ‖ 3 ‖ Mahantā-
23 pāḍi-haṭṭīya-tantuvāya-Kaṇḍaru-sū(su)to Māṅka-nāmā ‖ 4 ‖ [4]
Aḍhañca-Okhalā-teli-Jāgūli-śreṣṭhi-nāmā ‖ 5 ‖ Pañceśa [5]-

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1 Read *Śrīmac-chāsan-ādhi°*.
2 Read *°dhyakṣ-āpāyi°*.
3 Read *asmin*. Usually we have in this context *asya śāsanasyāṅgatayā*.
4 The following *akṣara* may be *Tā* also.
5 The writing ends here.

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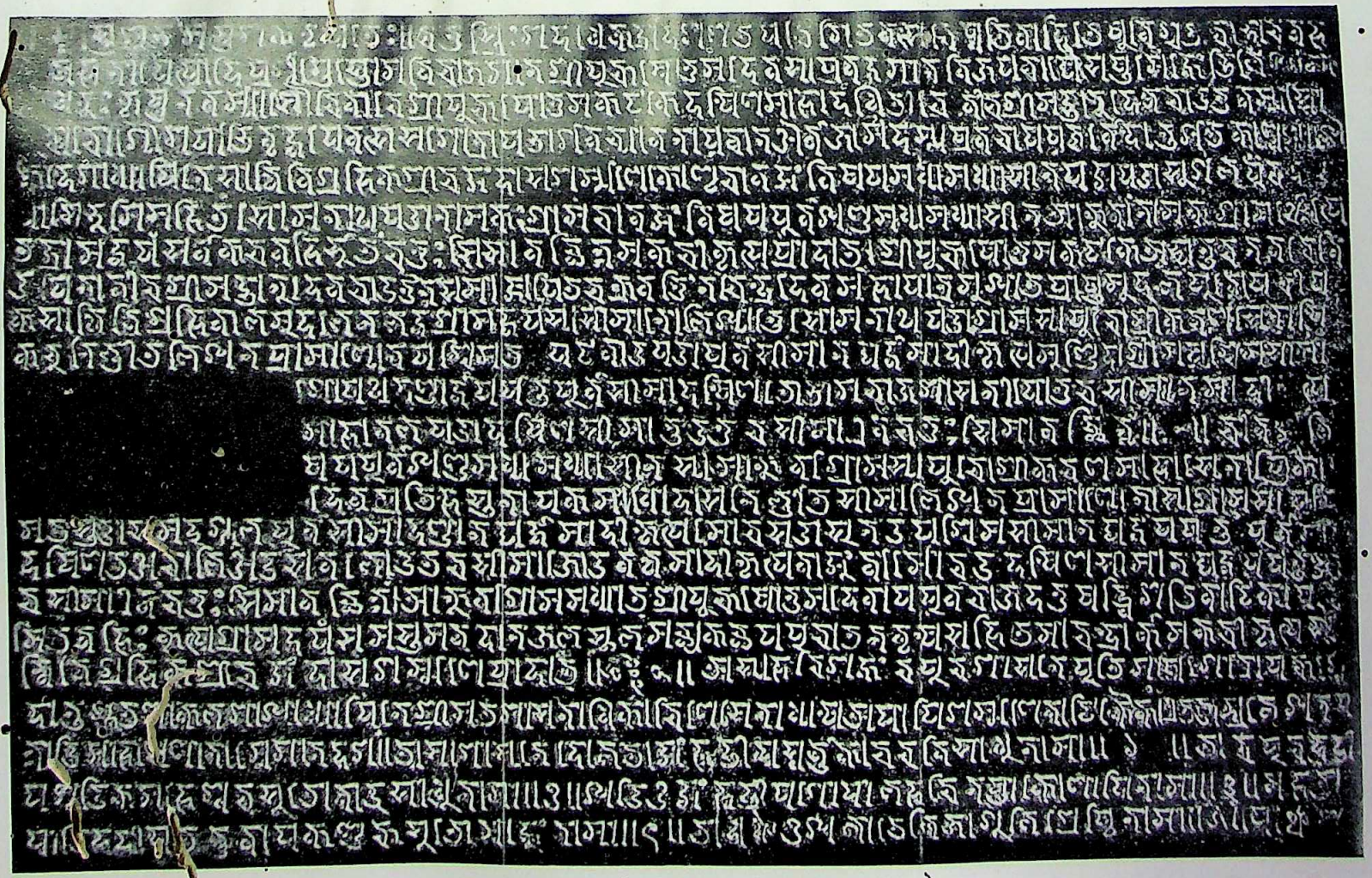

Purī Copperplate Inscription of Gaṅga Bhānu II of Orissa. From *Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mazumdar, Plate facing p. 202.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

AN IMPORTANT DATE IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀLAS

By DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund*

(*Received April 12, 1950*)

It is well known that the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar did not use the years of any era in dating their official records. Their documents are dated in the years of the regnal reckoning of individual rulers. There are only two records of the Pāla dynasty dated according to an era. The first of these is the Sārnāth (near Benares) stone inscription[1] recording the construction and repairs of numerous sacred structures at the Buddhist site of Kāśī (Benares) on behalf of Mahīpāla I, king of Gauḍa, by his younger brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla. King Mahīpāla I is also himself said to have worshipped the feet of his *guru* Vāmarāśi at Vārāṇasī (Benares). This inscription is dated on the eleventh day of the solar month of Pauṣa in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1083 (1026 A.D.). The use of the Vikrama era in dating the record is apparently due to local influence. The Vikrama era is known to have been used by the people of the Benares region. The Gurjara Pratihāras, whose dominions included the U.P., popularized the use of this era in that part of the country.[2] Whether Benares formed an integral part of the dominions of Mahīpāla I or he and his brothers, who were all Buddhists, visited the Buddhist establishments of that place on pilgrimage cannot be determined with certainty. The facts that one *Garuḍadhvaja* (often wrongly written as *Gauḍadhvaja*) Gāṅgeyadeva of the lunar race ruled over Tīrabhukti (North Bihar) in Saṁvat 1076 (1019 A.D.) according to the colophon of a Nepalese manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[3] that, according to Baihaqī, 'Banāras' belonged to the 'territory of Gang' when Ahmad Niyāl-tigīn, general of Ma'sud I (*circa* 1030–40 A.D.) invaded the city about 1034 A.D.[4] and that this Gāṅgeya or Gang is very probably the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeya whose rule ended in 1041 A.D. would suggest that, even if Mahīpāla I actually occupied Benares about 1026 A.D., it was only for a short time. Although it has been pointed out that, as the constructions and repairs are mentioned as past events, it is uncertain whether Mahīpāla I was living in 1026 A.D., most scholars have rightly taken that year as falling within the reign-period of Mahīpāla I. The use of the past tense in such matters is often noticed in inscriptions apparently because the epigraphs were incised after the completion of the repairs or construction of the buildings they refer to.[5] It must, however, be admitted that the date of the Sarnath inscription does not help us at all in determining the commencement or end of the long reign of Mahīpāla who, according to the

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 107-08; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 140.

[2] The Vikrama Saṁvat was used in the U.P. also by the Maukharis and the Malayaketus. See Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 10, 34.

[3] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXII, Part i, p. 18; Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 392, note 3.

[4] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 773.

[5] Cf., e.g., the verb *dadau* in the Nagarjuni cave inscription (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 227). Such writers had probably the readers of the future in mind.

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Imadpur (Muzaffarpur District, Bihar) inscription,[1] ruled at least up to his forty-eighth regnal year. As a matter of fact, the known materials of Pāla history do not offer any clue as regards the year of accession of any of the seventeen kings of the dynasty from Gopāla I to Madanapāla. The Gayā inscription[2] of Govindapāla, who is regarded as a later member of the Pāla family, is the second Pāla inscription dated according to an era and, since it is also dated according to the king's regnal reckoning, this is the only known Pāla record that helps us in determining the year of a Pāla king's accession. Unfortunately the nature of the information supplied by this inscription has given rise to a controversy and there is no unanimity among scholars as regards the year of Govindapāla's accession. The date of the Gayā inscription is given as [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1232, Āśvina *Sudi* 5, as the Vikāri-saṁvatsara according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter, and as the fourteenth year of the *gata-rājya* of king Govindapāla. The date corresponds to the 22nd September, 1175 A.D. Since this date falls in the fourteenth year of Govindapāla's reckoning, the first year of the latter corresponds to Vikrama Saṁvat 1219 = the year between the 24th March, 1162 A.D., and the 23rd March, 1163 A.D.[3] Unfortunately the reference is not to Govindapāla's *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya*, usually expected in this connection, but to his *gata-rājya*, i.e., his sovereignty which was in 1175 A.D. a thing of the past. Several Buddhist manuscripts copied in Bihar refer to Govindapāla.[4] But only one of these refers to *Śrīmad-Govindapālasya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare 4* which shows that king Govindapāla reigned at least up to his fourth regnal year. Two of the manuscripts, like the Gaya inscription, speak of his *atīta-saṁvatsa(re*) 18* and his *vinaṣṭarājye aṣṭatriṁśat-saṁvatsarē*. Three other manuscripts dated in the years 24, 37 and 39 simply connect the years with Govindapāla without referring to his *rājya* either as victorious or prosperous or as *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa*. It seems quite natural to think that Govindapāla ascended the throne in Vikrama Saṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A.D.) but that he lost his kingdom after his fourth but before his fourteenth regnal year, although the Buddhists of Bihar used this Buddhist king's regnal reckoning even after his downfall in preference to a reference to the non-Buddhist rule that came to be established in Bihar sometime before 1175 A.D. Indeed this essentially is the view of R. D. Banerji,[5] although most other writers on Pāla history believe that this past or lost *rājya* reckoning began from the time when Govindapāla was overthrown and ceased to rule.[6] According to this view the king ended his rule in Vikrama 1219 (1162-63 A.D.), while according to one of the supporters of the view,[7] Govindapāla's reign ended in 1161 A.D. but it had begun in 1157 A.D. or probably as early as 1137 A.D. Such theories were possible only because there was no evidence to suggest any definite date for the accession and death of king Madanapāla, the last known member of the imperial Pāla

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1628.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 370; R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 109.

[3] Inscriptions of several dynasties, dated according both to the regnal reckoning and to an era, suggest that a regnal year of an ancient Indian king was associated with a single year of the Indian calendar and not with a year of 365 days following the date of his accession. Usually therefore the last regnal year of one ruler and the first of his successor both coincided with the same year of the Indian calendar. Cf. *A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 100; Bomb. Gaz., I, ii, p. 446, etc.

[4] Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–12.

[5] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10.

[6] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 171 and note.

[7] *Proc. I.H.C.*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 533.

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family of Bengal and Bihar. R. D. Banerji[1] placed Madanapāla's rule in *circa* 1100–19 A.D. Recent writers on the subject, who believe that Madanapāla immediately preceded Govindapāla, place the former's rule about 1130–50[2] or 1140–55 A.D.[3] I have recently discovered, in course of a tour in certain villages in the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar, an inscription in a village near the Luckeesarai Railway Station on the East Indian Railway, which throws interesting light on the chronology of the reigns of both Madanapāla and Govindapāla.

This inscription is dated both in the Śaka year 1083 and in the 18th year of Madanapāla's reign. The actual date is given as the eleventh day of the solar month of Jyaiṣṭha corresponding to the 4th May, 1161 A.D. The inscription thus shows beyond doubt that Madanapāla began to rule in Śaka 1066 = Vikrama Saṁvat 1201 = 1144-45 A.D. and that he ruled at least up to his eighteenth regnal year falling in Śaka 1083 = Vikrama 1218 = 1161-62 A.D. Since Govindapāla's first regnal year corresponds to Vikrama 1219 = Śaka 1084 = 1162-63 A.D. and Madanapāla's last recorded regnal year corresponds to the previous year, it appears almost certain that Govindapāla was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapāla. This also goes against the suggestion, widely accepted now by writers on Pāla history, that Govindapāla ruled at least for about four years before 1162-63 A.D., which is clearly known now to be the year of his accession to the Pāla throne. He certainly ruled from the year 1162-63 A.D. at least up to his fourth regnal year corresponding to 1165-66 A.D.; but before the fourteenth year (corresponding to 1175-76 A.D.) counted from his accession, he was overthrown by some enemy so that his *rājya* (sovereignty) became *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa*, i.e., 'past' or 'destroyed'.

The Pālas ruled over Bengal and Bihar. About the time of Madanapāla and Govindapāla, however, practically the whole of Bengal seems to have been lost to the Senas. The reign of Vijayasena, the first imperial ruler of the Sena dynasty is now assigned to the period *circa* 1095–1158 or *circa* 1125–1158 A.D., while his son Vallālasena is said to have ruled in *circa* 1158–79 A.D.[4] Like the Senas of Bengal, who hailed from Karṇāṭa, another Karṇāṭa dynasty was established in Mithilā by Nānyadeva in 1097 A.D. and the independent rule of this family continued for a long time.[5] Thus it seems that Govindapāla succeeded Madanapāla only over some districts of South Bihar. But even there the Pālas were not quite safe. The Maner plates[6] of Govindacandra dated 1124 A.D. show that the Gāhaḍavālas of Benares and Kanauj advanced as far as the Patna District where the Gāhaḍavāla king was granting a piece of land near Patna. The Lar plates[7] of 1146 A.D. point to the occupation of Mudgagiri or Monghyr by Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra who was then residing at Monghyr. The Jayanagar inscription[8] of the 14th regnal of Madanapāla corresponding to 1157-58 A.D. and the record under discussion may point to his temporary success in the struggle with the Gāhaḍavālas. Whether however his successor Govindapāla was ruling only over the Gayā District and the adjoining regions cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 103-04.
[2] Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 385.
[3] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[4] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
[5] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 679 ff.
[6] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 98.
[8] Jayanagar is near Luckeesarai in the Monghyr District.

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But the Bodhgayā inscription[1] of Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra (*circa* 1170–93 A.D.) seems to suggest that it was the Gāhaḍavālas who actually overthrew the Pālas from South Bihar. The date of this inscription falls between Vikrama Saṁvat 1240 (1183-84 A.D.) and 1249 (1192-93 A.D.) but probably towards the earlier part of this period. The Sihvar Plates[2] dated 1175 A.D. seem to refer to a grant of king Jayaccandra in the Patna District.

The use of the Vikrama Saṁvat in the Gayā inscription of Govindapāla can be explained by the fact that the era, quite popular in the neighbouring districts of the U.P., may have infiltrated itself in South Bihar especially when the Gāhaḍavālas of the U.P. succeeded Govindapāla. The inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas discovered in Bihar are dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat and Govindapāla's Gayā inscription incised after the loss of his sovereignty actually belongs to this period of Gāhaḍavāla occupation. Of course the Buddhists of Benares may also have carried the use of the Vikrama era to the Buddhist sites of Bihar; but the Gāhaḍavāla occupation seems to be a better explanation for the use of the Vikrama Saṁvat in the Gayā inscription of Govindapāla.

Even if thus the use of the era of Vikrama can be rather easily explained in the case of Govindapāla's Gayā inscription, it seems difficult to explain the dating of the newly discovered inscription of Madanapāla in the Śaka era. The Śaka era was adopted by the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa about the end of the tenth century probably from their southern neighbours, the Eastern Cālukyas of the Andhra country. With the expansion of imperial Gaṅga power towards the north-east up to the Bhāgīrathī or the present Hooghly river, its use must have been known in the south-western fringe of Bengal. But the popularity of the Śaka era in Bengal may have been due to the establishment of the power of the Senas who hailed from Karṇāta where that era was popular. Although the Senas followed their predecessors, the Pālas, in dating their charters according to regnal reckoning, the growing popularity of the Śaka era in Bengal during the Sena age is not only proved by its use in such works as the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (composed in Śaka 1127 = 1205-06 A.D.) of Śrīdharadāsa[3] and the *Dānasāgara* (composed in Śaka 1091 = 1169 A.D.) and *Adbhutasāgara* (commenced in Śaka 1089 = 1167 A.D. or Śaka 1090 = 1168 A.D.) ascribed to Vallālasena,[4] but also in such inscriptions as the Sundarban plate of Ḍommaṇapāla (Śaka 1117 = 1196 A.D.),[5] the Tippera plate[6] Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla (Śaka 1141 = 1219 A.D.) and the Chittagong plate[7] of Dāmodara (Śaka 1165 = 1243 A.D.). The introducioon of the Śaka era in Assam about the same time is indicated by such records as the inscription[8] of Vallabhadeva (Śaka 1107 = 1185 A.D.) and the Kanaibarshi rock inscription[9] of Śaka 1127 (1206 A.D.). The introduction of the era in Mithilā or North Bihar[10]

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[1] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 401.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 1-9; Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 537-38.
[3] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 353; *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 230. Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda's *Ṭīkāsarvasva* on the *Amarakoṣha* refers to Śaka 1081 (A.D. 1159) as the year of its composition (G.O.S., No. XLII, p. xviii).
[4] *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, pp. 230 ff., 353 ff.
[5] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 329.
[6] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1112.
[7] *Ibid.*, No. 1114. The Mehar plate of Dāmodara is dated Śaka 1156.
[8] *Ibid.*, No. 1107.
[9] *Ibid.*, No. 1109.
[10] Cf. *ibid.*, No. 1126. The theory that Maithil Vācaspatimiśra's *Nyāyasūchi* speaks of Śaka 898 (*V.S.P.P.*, LVII, p. 69; *J.G.J.R.I.*, II, pp. 349ff.) and similar others tracing earlier use of the Śaka era in Eastern India are unwarranted.

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was possibly due to the Karṇāṭa dynasty established in that country by Nānyadeva. But these facts do not quite clearly explain the use of the Śaka era in Madanapāla's inscription recently discovered in a village in western Monghyr, not only because the cause of the infiltration of its use in that region is unknown, but also because this is one of the earliest amongst literary and epigraphic documents dated in the Śaka era so far found in eastern India. The only explanation that suggests to me is that the people who were responsible for the inscription hailed from a territory where the use of the Śaka era had become or was becoming popular. Whether this was a land like Bengal or Orissa can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the use of *nṛpti* for *nṛipati* in our record may suggest Orissa, as *senāpti*, *gajapti*, etc., are fairly common in Orissan inscriptions.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

FIRST SET OF THE KENDUPĀṬNĀ PLATES OF GAṄGĀ NARASIṀHA II; ŚAKA 1217 AND AṄKA YEAR 21

By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, *Ootacamund*

(*Received August 8, 1950*)

More than 60 years ago, when the Kendrāpaḍā canal in the Cuttack district of Orissa was being dug, a stone box was found, 19 or 20 feet below the surface of the earth, in the village of Kendupāṭnā in the Kendrāpaḍā subdivision. The box, which was 3 feet square with a height of 2 feet, contained three sets of inscribed copperplates (each set having 7 plates) belonging to the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II (*circa* 1278–1305 A.D.). The box together with the plates was preserved in the local temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. Some time about the year 1892, Nagendranāth Vasu secured the inscriptions for examination. Vasu edited one of the three inscriptions in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 229–71 with plates. Another set of these records was transcribed by the same scholar in his celebrated work, the Bengali encyclopaedia *Viśvakoṣa*, Vol. V, 1893, s.v. *gāṅgeya*, where the third set of the plates was barely noticed. Unfortunately Vasu's transcripts of the inscriptions as well as his interpretations of them are both full of mistakes. Even his description of the plates is far from satisfactory. Moreover the *Viśvakoṣa*, in which two of the three records were discussed, is not easily available to all scholars. For these reasons, I had an idea of re-examining and re-editing all the three inscriptions together. As the three sets of the Kendupāṭnā plates are now the property of the Orissa Provincial Museum at Bhubaneswar, I recently approached for a loan of the records to Mr. P. Ācārya, Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, and Mr. K. C. Pāṇigrāhī, Curator, Orissa Provincial Museum. Through the kindness of Messrs. Ācārya and Pāṇigrāhī, only the first set of the plates was received by me for examination in July 1950.[1] The inscription is being edited by me in the following pages. In this connection, I wish to record my feelings of gratitude to Messrs. Ācārya and Pāṇigrāhī for the kindness they have shown to me.

It is now well known that the 105 verses (with a prose passage containing some stray names between verses 6 and 7) forming the introductory part of the charters of Narasiṁha II are the same in the different records of the king. This part is also found copied in the Purī plates of the king's son Bhānu II (*circa* 1305–27 A.D.), noticed by R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 276 ff., and also, with some variations, in the charters of Narasiṁha IV (*circa* 1378–1414 A.D.) published by M. M. Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 133–44, and partially in the Nagarī plates of Anaṅgabhīma III which have recently been edited by me for the *Epigraphia Indica*. It has been fully discussed in connection with the Nagarī plates referred to above and

[1] The second and third sets of the Kendupāṭnā plates reached me about the middle of Aug[illegible] and have been edited for the *Epigraphia Indica*.

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with the Asankhali and Alalpur plates of Narasiṁha II which are being published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica* in collaboration with Mr. P. Āchārya. There is thus hardly any necessity of discussing this part of the inscription in the present case. As a matter of fact, the charters of the king have really little to do with the introductory part which deals with the genealogy of the Gaṅgas down to the reigning monarch. I am therefore editing here only the charter of Narasiṁha II forming the concluding portion of the inscription engraved on the first set of the Kendupāṭnā plates.

The first of the three inscriptions is written on six plates which are each about 14 inches long and $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad and have a raised rim about $\frac{1}{5}$ inch in thickness. If the set contained seven plates, as recorded by Vasu, the seventh plate was uninscribed and was probably removed from the set at a later date. The margin on the reverse of the plates contains the number of the different plates. All the six plates are thus consecutively numbered. The diameter of the ring passing through the plates, to which the seal is soldered, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and its thickness is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The seal resembling those attached to other records of the later Gaṅga kings is of the shape of an expanded lotus, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with the border containing the petals slightly raised upwards. On it the principal emblem is an ox in an inclined posture, which is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. There are also the emblems of the *triśūla*, *ḍamaru*, crescent and solar orb, although the *aṅkuśa* found on similar seals in wanting. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side; but the other plates have writing on both sides. The inscribed sides contain each 20 lines of writing with the exception of the reverse of the fifth plate which has 19 lines and the last plate on which there are 21 lines on the obverse and only 7 lines on the reverse. Thus altogether there are 207 lines of writing on the set of plates under discussion. The letters are neatly engraved and are each $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height. The lines are about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; but four lines in the middle are shorter by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches because of the hole about the left margin of the plates meant for the seal-ring to pass through. The diameter of the ring-hole is about 1 inch and the margin towards its left is of about the same length. This margin on the reverse of the plates contains the number of the different plates. Of the numerical figures, 1 and 5 resemble their Telugu forms, while 2 resembles English 3 as in medieval Bengali and 3 has a slightly modified Devanāgarī form. The figures from 1 to 5 on the plates are preceded by the letters *kuma*, while 6 is similarly preceded by *kū*. This *kuma* or *kū* appears to be a contraction of the designation of the donee of the grant who was the *Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadevaśarman. The weight of the six plates is 756 *tolās*, while the seal together with the ring weighs 216 *tolās*.

The palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription are similar to those of the other charters of Narasiṁha II and do not call for any special mention, especially because they have been discussed in connection with the Asankhali and Alalpur charters of the king to be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The date of the charter is given in words in lines 176–8 as the *Śaka* year 1217 corresponding to the 21st *Aṅka* year (i.e. 17th actual regnal year omitting according to rule the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years of the *Aṅka* reckoning) of the king. The precise date was Monday, the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Siṁha (i.e., Bhādrapada) of the above *Śaka* year. Line 179 refers to a lunar eclipse as the occasion when the king granted many pieces of land, one of these grants being recorded on the plates under discussion. The date of the charter is irregular

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for *Śaka* 1217; but, for *Śaka* 1218 expired, it corresponds to Monday, the 6th August, A.D. 1296.[1]

The charter was issued from the *kaṭaka* (i.e., city, camp or residence) of Remuṇā by king *Śrī-vīra*-Narasiṁhadeva (i.e., the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II) who was endowed with such titles as *caturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati*. The king is said to have been then staying in the city (cf. *navar-ābhyantara-vijaya-samayē*, *navara* being an Oriyā corruption of *nagara* and *vijaya* meaning 'presence' in Oriyā[2]). The *mudala*, which is a Telugu word meaning 'order,' i.e. the order of the execution of the present grant,[3] passed through the *halin* (possibly meaning the officer in charge of the agricultural department or of the crown lands) Prahrāda. The grant was one of several that were made according to the *gaṅgā-tīr-āvadhārita-nyāya* which seems to suggest that the king made them in connection with a ceremonial bath that he had taken on the occasion of the lunar eclipse referred to. A bath followed by gifts to Brāhmaṇas was considered specially meritorious immediately after an eclipse and any pool or stream was regarded as holy as the Ganges on such occasions.[4] The donee of the grant, recorded in our inscription, was the *Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadevaśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras* and was a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda. The word *Mahāpātra* indicated a minister of the higher rank and *Kumāra-mahāpātra* seems to have signified a *mahāpātra* with the rank of the *kumāra*, i.e. a prince of the blood royal (cf. *Kumār-āmātya* of earlier records). The king's gift to Bhīmadevaśarman consisted of 50 *vāṭikās* of land in two plots.

The first of the two plots of land granted consisted of Eḍaragrāma situated in the Ḍerā *viṣaya* (district). It measured 42 *vāṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas* according to the measurement of area (cf. Oriyā *nala*) done by the *puro-śrīkaraṇa* Śivadāsa-nāyaka. The word *nāyaka* signifies the caste or family name of Śivadāsa, while *Śrīkaraṇa* means 'a scribe'. The word *puro* seems to be either Sanskrit *pura* or *puras*.[5] Thus Śivadāsa-nāyaka seems to have been either a scribe specially attached to the capital city or was one of the principal scribes of the Gaṅga king. The gift village of Eḍara was bounded in the north by parts of two of the boundary lines (*dvi-sīma-daṇḍa-ārdh*) of Mālopuragrāma and in the south by parts of the boundary line of the *pānīya-mukhāyana* of Tilaṅgagrāma, while its western boundary touched the western *hīḍa* (an Oriyā word meaning 'embankment') of the tank of or at Sāhasamalla and its western boundary the *hīḍa* forming two of the boundary lines of Vibhūtipaḍāgrāma. The expression *pānīya-mukhāyana* is difficult to explain; but it may indicate 'the mouth of a freshwater canal'. Within these four boundaries, as stated above, the land measured 42 *vāṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*, out of which an area measuring 8 *vāṭikās* and 9 *mānas* and covering *gohari-gopatha* (cattle tracks), *daṇḍā* (village roads) and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times was subtracted leaving a remainder of 34 *vāṭikās*, 7 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*. The word *niravakara* has been used in the sense of *avaśesa* or *avaśiṣṭa*, i.e., 'total remainder'. It

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[1] See Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1116.

[2] See *Pramoda Abhidhāna*, *s.v. nāvara* and *vijaya* or *bije*. There is no reference to any victory here as often wrongly supposed.

[3] The word *mudala* is not recognized in the *Pramoda Abhidhāna* (Oriyā), but occurs in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* (ed. A.B. Mahānti, pp. 27, 28, 30) where, however, the word seems to mean 'arrangement made or to be made according to order'. See also the Puri grants of Narasiṁha IV.

[4] See *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *grahaṇa*.

[5] The word is found as *poro* in the grants of Narasiṁha IV and as *pora* in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

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seems to be derived from *avakṛ*, 'to leave,' and literally means 'without anything left out'.

The second plot of the gift land consisted of Sunāilogrāma situated in the Svāṅga *viṣaya*. Its measurement of area was done by the same person who measured the first plot. In the west the village touched parts of two of the boundary lines of Bhīmanārāyaṇapura and in the east those of Khaṇḍasāhigrāma, while its southern and northern boundaries were respectively parts of two boundary lines of Vaḍapaḍāgrāma and those of Ghoḍāpālagrāma. The land within these boundaries measured 33 *vāṭikās*, 13 *mānas* and 6 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area measuring 10 *vāṭikās* and 12 *mānas* and covering *gohari-gopatha* and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times was subtracted leaving 23 *vāṭikās*, 11 *mānas* (*sic.* 1 *māna*) and 6 *guṇṭhas* of land. Out of this area of 23 *vāṭikās* 1 *māna* and 6 *guṇṭhas* again a piece of land measuring 7 *vāṭikās*, 8 *mānas* and 18 *mānas* (*sic. guṇṭhas*) was *niśadhīkṛta* (probably meaning the same thing as *niṣiddha*) and was further deducted, thus leaving a remainder of 15 *vāṭikās*, 12 *mānas* and 13 *guṇṭhas* of land only to be granted to the donee. Thus of the two plots of gift land, the first measured 34 *vāṭikās*, 7 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas* and the second 15 *vāṭikās*, 12 *mānas* and 13 *guṇṭhas* together making a total area of 50 *vāṭikās*. It may be pointed out that in the age of the imperial Gaṅgas, as in the Orissa of today, 25 *guṇṭhas* were regarded as equal to 1 *māna* and 20 *mānas* to 1 *vāṭikā*. One *māna* of land is now regarded as equal to one acre; but its actual area in the Gaṅga age cannot be determined. The area of the *niśadhīkṛta* plot of land measuring 7 *vāṭikās*, 8 *mānas* and 18 *guṇṭhas* is said to have been determined by Chandrādāsa-karaṇa (*karaṇa* being the caste name of Candrādāsa). This plot of land was bounded in the west by a banyan tree at the junction of two of the boundary lines of Kaïlogrāma and in the east by another banyan tree in the Sunāilogrāma; its northern boundary was a banyan tree in a field belonging to Sunāilogrāma, while the southern boundary was another banyan tree at the junction of two of the boundary lines of Vaḍapaḍāgrāma.

The land was granted by the king as a permanent revenue-free holding endowed with the right of enjoying land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The *śāsana* or gift land was styled Gaṅgā-narasiṁha-pura. We know that the later Gaṅga monarchs gave different names to their gift lands. The name of the present *śāsana* was probably coined after that of the donor, Gaṅga Narasiṁha II.

The king's *śāsan-ādhikārin* (i.e., keeper and writer of records) received according to an established custom (cf. *Śāsan-ādhikāri-vyavasthitā*) one *vāṭikā* of land apparently as commission or fee. The *śāsan-ādhikārin* was the *Senāpati* Allālanāthaśarman who is also known from another record of the king. He was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pūtimāṣa *gotra* and was a student of the *Śākala* branch of the Ṛgveda. The *tāmrakāra* (coppersmith), who apparently engraved the plates, similarly received half of a *vāṭikā* of land. His name is given as Āpannādi although he may be the same as Pannādi known from another record of the king. It is possible to think that the 1½ *vāṭikās* of land offered to the writer of the document and the engraver of the plates formed a part of the 50 *vāṭikās* granted to the donee.

The later Gaṅga monarchs usually allotted a few rent-paying subjects to each of their *śāsanas*. The rent-payers attached to the present charter were the following: (1) Unārī-śreṣṭhin who was the son of Purāi-śreṣṭhin and grandson of Komaṭimāṅkū-śreṣṭhika and belonged to Nucaḍāgrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Jhāḍakhaṇḍa; (2) the *tāmbulika* (caste name indicating the profession of growing and selling betel leaves) Dhintu-velā, who was the

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grandson of Mahādeva-velālika and belonged to the Kaṇṭāpāḍi *haṭṭa* (market); (3) the *tāmrakāra* Amnāi who was an inhabitant of Usthalī and belonged to the Prusotmapura (Puruṣottamapura?) *haṭṭa*; and (4) the *kaṁsakāra* (brazier) Mudāi of Vedapura-Usthalī.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Remuṇā is undoubtedly the modern locality of the same name near Balasore. In connection with the first plot of the gift land, mention has been made of the Ḍerā district and the villages of Eḍara, Mālopura, Tilaṅga and Vibhūtipaḍā. It is difficult to say whether Sāhasamalla referred to in the same connection is the name of a person or a locality. With reference to the second plot of the land granted, the inscription mentions the Svāṅga district and the villages of Sunāilo, Bhīmanārāyaṇapura, Khaṇḍasāhi, Vaḍapaḍā, Ghoḍāpāla and Kaïlo. The list of the rent-paying subjects attached to the charter mentions some localities, viz., Nucaḍāgrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, the Kaṇṭāpāḍi *haṭṭa*, Prusotmapura, Usthalī and Vedapura-Usthalī. Of these, Sunāilo is found to be the name of several villages in Orissa (cf. Survey of India sheet map No. 73/L/3). Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, also known from some other Orissan records including the Utkal University plate[1] of Gaṅga Arkeśvara, was the name applied to the jungle land covering wide regions of Orissa and South Bihar.

TEXT[2]

Fifth Plate; Second Side

Kuma 5[3]

Lines 161–75.....

176 .....[4] Svasti(॥*) Saptadaś-ottara-dvādaśa-śata-Śaka-vatsare

177 catur-aśabhuvanādhipat-īty-ādi-virud-āvalī-virājamānaḥ ॥[5] Śrī-vīra-Narasiṁhadeva-mahīpatiḥ sva-rājyasy = e(sy = ai)ka-

178 viṁśaty-aṅke = bhilikhyamāne Siṁha-śukla-ṣaṣṭhyāṁ Soma-vāre Remuṇā-kaṭake nava(ga)r-ābhyantara-vijaya-samaye halī(li)-Prahrāda-।[6]

179 mudalena Gaṅgā-tīr-āvadhārita-nyāyāta(yāt) Soma-grahaṇa-samaya-samutsṛṣṭ-āneka-bhū-madhyāta(dhyāt) Kāśyapa-sagotrāya ।[7]

Sixth Plate; First Side

180 Kāśya p-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva-pravarāya Yajurved-āntarggata-Kaṇva-śākh-ādhyāyine Kumāra-mahāpātra-Bhīmadevaśarmmaṇe bhūmi-

181 pañchāśad-vāṭikā-pradānāya Ḍerā-viṣaya-madhy-āsīnaṁ (nam) Eḍaragrāmaṁ puro-śrīkaraṇa-Śivadāsanāyaka-nala-pramāṇena । uttarataḥ

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[1] This record is being published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*. For Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, see B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 63 ff.

[2] From the original plates and facsimile published in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part i.

[3] In the left margin.

[4] Verse 105 ends about the middle of this line.

[5] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[6] The *daṇḍa*, which is superfluous, is employed to cover the short space at the end of the line.

[7] See note 6 above.

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182 Mālopuragrāma-dvi-śī(sī)ma-daṇḍ-ārddha[1] = prathamīkṛtya Tilaṅga-grāmīya-pānīyamukhāyana-daṇḍ-ārddha-dakṣiṇ-
āvacheda(m*)। paścimataḥ Sāhasa-
183 mallīyā-puṣkariṇī-paścima-hīḍam = ādīkṛtya Vibhūtipaḍā-grāma-dvi-śi(sī)ma-hīḍ-āvacchina(nna)-pūrvva-śi(sī)mānam = eva(ṁ*) catuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvacchinnaṁ।[1]
184 dv ādaśa-guṇṭh-opeta-ṣoḍaśa-mān-ādhika-dvācatvāriṁśa(riṁśa)d-vāṭikā-madhyāt punā(rā)tana-deva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhogya-gohari-
gopatha-daṇḍā-puṣka-
185 riṇī-sameta-nava-mān-ādhik-āṣṭa-(vāṭikā*) va(ba)hiṣkṛtya niravva(va)kara-vvā(dvā)daśa-guṇṭh-opeta-sapta-mān-ādhika-catustriṁśa(striṁśa)d-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam)॥ tathā Svā-।[2]
186 ṅga-viṣaya-madhy-āsīnaṁ Sunāilogrāma(ṁ*) tasy = āpi nala-pramāṇenī(na।) paścimataḥ। Bhīmanārāyaṇapura-ḍi(dvi)-śī(sī)-ma-daṇḍ-ārddham = ādī[kṛtya]-
187 Khaṇḍasāhigrāma-dvi-śī(sī)ma-daṇḍ-ārddh-āvacchinna-pūrvva-maryāda(m*)। dakṣiṇataḥ। Vaḍapaḍāgrāma-dvi-śī(sī)ma-daṇḍ-ārddham = ārabhya Ghoḍāpālagrāma-dvi-[śī(sī)ma]-
188 daṇḍ-ārddh-ottar-āvacchedam = evaṁ catuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvacchinnaṁ ṣaḍ-guṇṭh-opeta-trayodaśa-mān-ādhika-trayastriṁśa(s t r i ṁ ś a)-d-vāṭikā-madhyāt purātana-deva-Vrā(Brā)hma-
189 ṇa-b h o g y a-g o h a r i- gopatha-puṣkariṇī-sameta-māna-dvādaś-ādhika-daśa-vāṭikā va(ba)hiṣkṛtya ṣaḍ-guṇṭh-opeta-mā-[3]
190 n-aikādaś-ādhika-ta(tra)yoviṁśa(viṁśa)ti-vāṭikā-madhye niśadhī-kṛt-āṣṭādaśa-mān-opet[4]-āṣṭa-mā(n-ā*)dhika-sapta-kā(vā)[ṭi]-
191 kā yāś = Candrādāsa-karaṇasya nala-pramāṇena etadīya-śī(sī)mā paścimataḥ॥ Kaïlogrāma-dvi-śi(sī)ma-daṇḍāstha-
192 vaṭavṛkṣam = ārabhya Sunāilogrāma-madhya-kṣi(sthi)ta-vaṭavṛkṣ-āvadhi-pūrvva-śī(sī)mānaṁ(nam)॥ uttarataḥ Sunāilogrāma-ma-
193 dhya-[kṣe]trastha-vaṭavṛkṣam = ādīkṛtya॥[5] Vaḍapaḍāgrāma-dvi-śī(sī)ma-daṇḍāstha-vaṭavṛkṣ-āvacchinna-dakṣiṇa-maryādaṁ(dam)॥ evaṁ cha-।[6]
194 tuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvacchinna-bhū-khaṇḍaṁ(ṇḍam) aṣṭādaśa-mān-[7] opet-āṣṭha(ṣṭa)-mān-ādhika-sapta-vāṭikā-mitaṁ va(ba)hiṣkṛtya niravakara-trayodaśa-guṇṭh-ādhika-dvādaśa-mā-
195 n-opeta-paṁcadaśa-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam)॥ evaṁ grāma-dvayena militvā niravakara-pañcāśad-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ॥[8] sa-jala-sthala-maccha(tsya)-kacchapa-
196 sahitam = ā-candr-ārkkam = akarīkṛtya prādāta(dāt)॥[9]॥ asmina-(smin) Gaṅgānarasiṁgha(ha)pura-śāsane Pūtimāṣa-gotrāya Ru-(Ṛ?)gved-āntarggata-Śā-
197 kala-śākh-ādhyāyine śe(se)nāpaty-Allālanāthaśarmaṇe śāsan-ādhikāri-vyavasthitā vāṭik = aikā॥o॥ tamvra(mra)kār-Āpann-āḍi[10]-nāmne

---

[1] The *daṇḍa*, which is superfluous, is employed to cover the short space at the end of the line.
[2] See note 1 above.
[3] Read *mān-aik-ādhika*.
[4] Read *guṇṭh-ope°*.
[5] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.
[6] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous and is used to cover a short space left at the end of the line.
[7] Read *guṇṭh-opet-ā°*.
[8] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.
[9] There is the usual ornamental design between the double *daṇḍas*.
[10] Or *°kārā(ra)-Pannāḍi°*.

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198 [illegible] = ca ‖ o ‖ asya śāsanaś = ā(sy = ā) ṅgatayā ‖ Dakṣiṇa-
Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-madhya-Nucaḍāgrāmīya-Komaṭimāṅkū - śreṣṭhī(ṣṭhi)-
ka-putra-
199 . Purāi-śreṣṭhi-sut-Onārī-sre(śre)ṣṭhi-nāmā ‖ o ‖ Kaṇṭāpāḍi-haṭṭīya-
tāmvu(mbū)lika-Mahādevavelālikasya naptā Dhintuvelā-
200 li-nāmā ‖ o ‖ Prusotmapura [1]-haṭṭīya-Ū(y-O)sthalī-tāmvra(mra)-
kāra-A (r-Ā) mnāi ‖ o ‖ Vedapū(pu) ra-U (r-O) sthalī-kaṃsa(kaṁsa)-
kāra-Mudāi-nāmā ‖ o ‖

Sixth Plate; Second Side

kū 6 [2]

Lines 201–7 (Imprecatory and benedictory verses).

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1 Possibly *Puruṣottamapura°*.
2 In the left margin.

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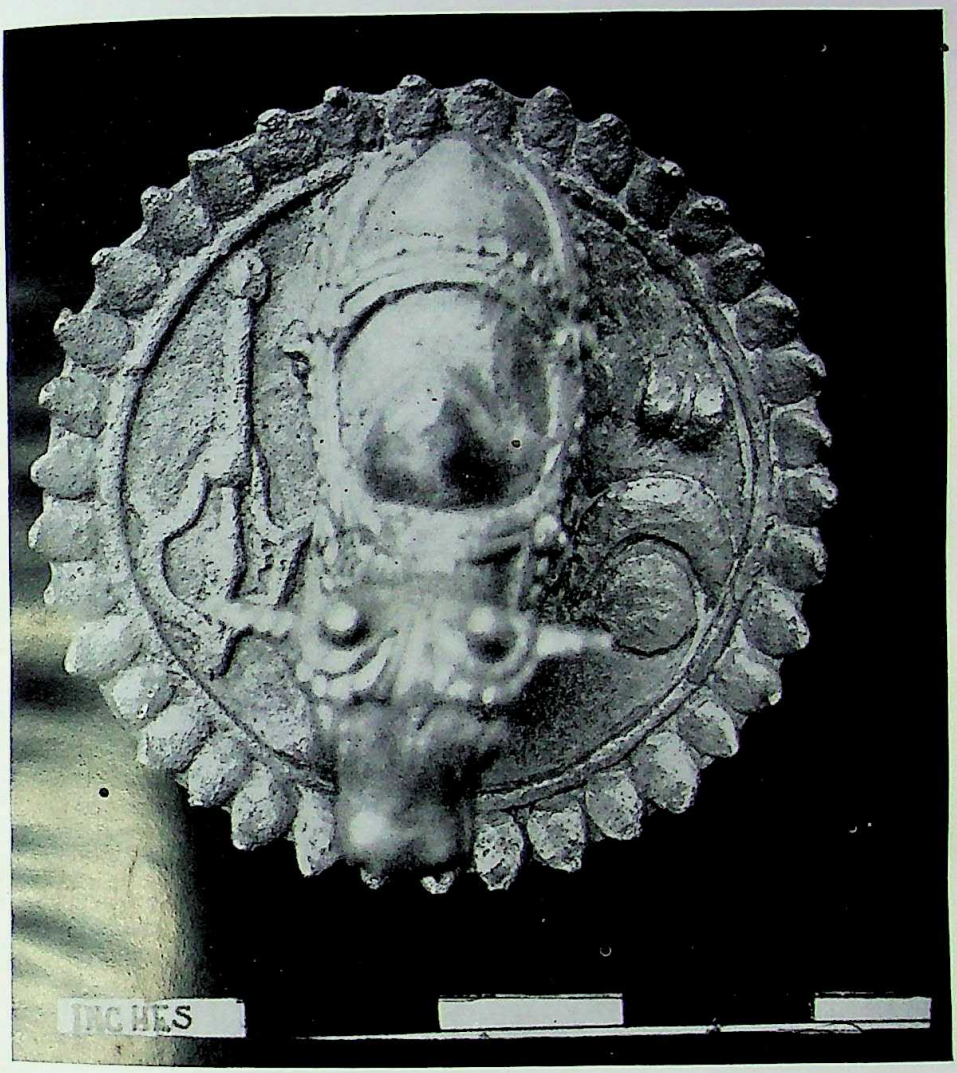

Top view of the Seal of the Kendupāṭnā Plates (Set I).
Photo taken in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

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Side view of the Seal of the Kendupāṭnā Plates (Set 1).
Photo taken in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

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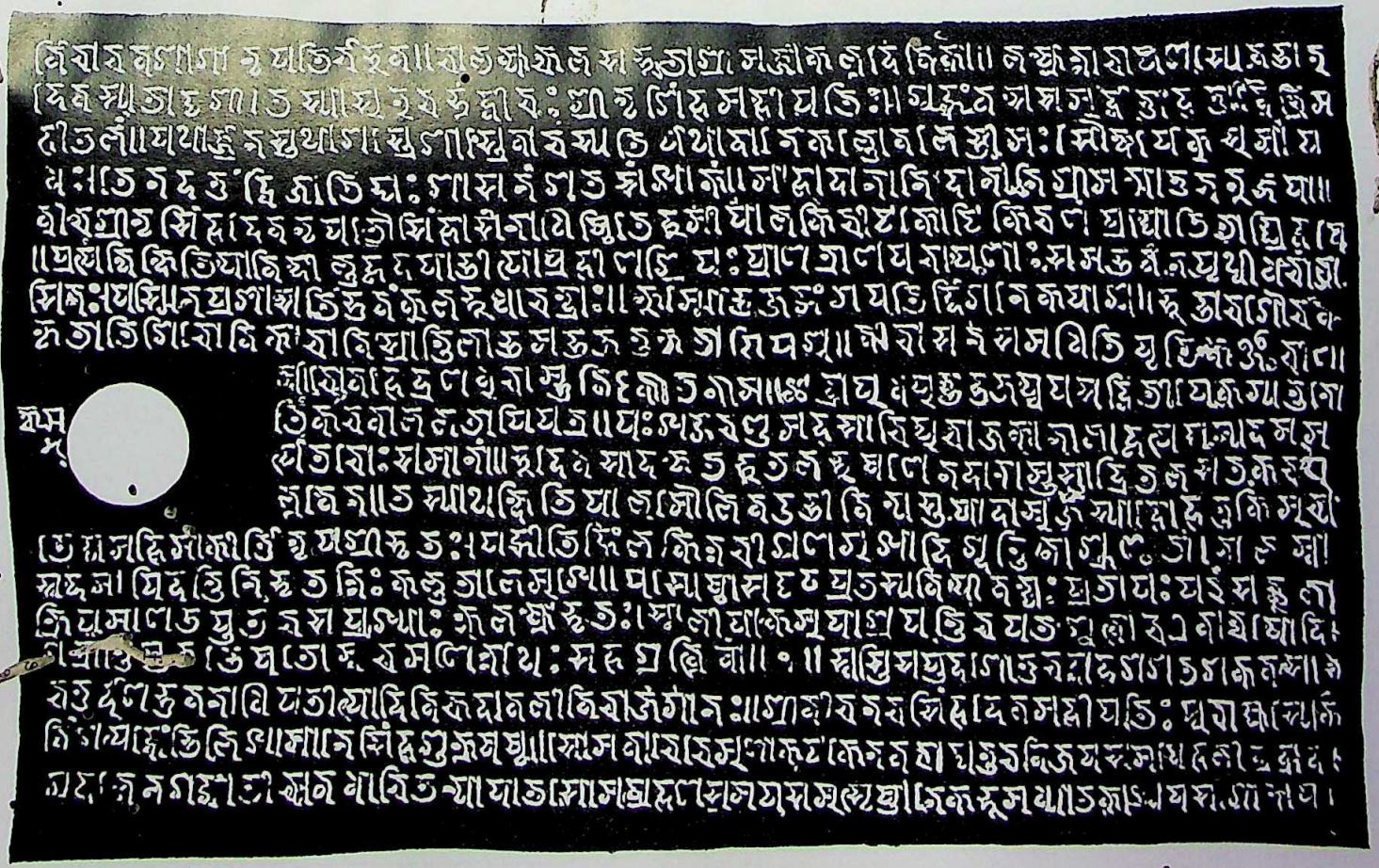

Kendupāṭnā Plates of Narasimha II (Set 1) ; Plate V, second side.

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Kendupāṭnā Plates of Narasimha II (Set 1) : Plate VI, first side.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

MAINTENANCE OF IRRIGATION TANKS THROUGH FISHERY REVENUE IN ANCIENT INDIA

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(*Received September 14, 1950*)

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INTRODUCTION

Venkayya,[1] in his article on 'Irrigation in Southern India in ancient times,' has referred to a large number of irrigation tanks mentioned in Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagara inscriptions. He has discussed the origin and maintenance-procedure of these tanks which reflect great wisdom among the Indians of those periods. It is worthy of note that in the inscriptions referred to by Venkayya, there is no mention of the revenue derived from the fishery of the tanks. In one inscription regarding a tank at Nangavaram in the Kulittalai taluk of the Trichinopoly district (No. 343 of 1903),[2] however, there is a mention of fishermen (number not mentioned) who supplied wood (for repairs to the boat) and got *2 kalam* of paddy annually. In 1947, when I was spending a part of my leave at Ootacamund with my cousin, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, a member of his staff Mr. Venkataramayya brought to my notice eight Tamil inscriptions in which fish-lease money was specifically ear-marked for the maintenance of these tanks. As irrigation tanks or dam-reservoirs are now being constructed all over the country under minor and major irrigation projects to fight the food shortage, it seems worthwhile to ponder over ancient traditional knowledge and to use that experience, which is our heritage, in the light of modern scientific understanding.

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[1] Venkayya, V.—*Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1903-04, pp. 202–211 (1906).

[2] Such references refer to Inscription numbers in *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* published by the Archaeological Survey of India.

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Kondupāṭṭā Plates of Narasimha II (Set 21) : Plate VI, first side.

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LIST OF CERTAIN TANKS DISCUSSED BY VENKATA, WITH HISTORY, MAINTENANCE-ARRANGEMENT AND OTHER PARTICULARS CONNECTED THEREWITH

Name, Locality, Date and Benefactor	Reference	Maintenance arrangement	Other particulars
Mahendra - taṭāka; Mahendravāḍi, North Arcot district; 1st half of 7th century A.D., Pallava king Mahendravarman I of Conjeeveram.	*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 153.		Irrigated lands some 7 or 8 miles distant.
Parameśvara - taṭāka; Kūram, Chingleput district; 2nd half of 7th century A.D.; Parameśvaravarman, great-grandson of Mahendravarman I.	Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, I, p. 187.	One-fifth of the irrigated land set apart for public purposes.	Provided with a feeder-channel from the river Pālār.
Vayiramega - taṭāka; Uttaramallūr, Chingleput district; ? ; Pallava king Vayiramega.	*Id., ibid.*, I, p. 192; No. 74 of 1898; No. 80 of 1898.	For removing silt in the tank provision was made by a private individual. The village assembly accepted the endowment and undertook to arrange for the removal of silt every month from the tank. Two boats maintained for the removal of silt.	Date can be 8th or 9th century A.D.; several endowments for the maintenance of the tank are registered in inscriptions. When ryots failed to pay their dues village assembly paid it by taking over their land for 3 years. If the defaulters did not pay at the end of the period, their land was sold for the benefit of the tank.
Guḍimallam near Renigunta Junction, North Arcot district; Pallava king Dantivikramavarman; 9th century A.D.	No. 226 of 1903.	Gift of land, the income from which was spent in removing silt.	Those who maintained the tank were assured of acquiring the merit of performing a horse-sacrifice.
Ukkal, Arcot taluk, North Arcot district; Pallava king Kampavarman; 9th century A.D.	*South Ind. Inscrs.*, III, pt. 1, p. 9.	Donation of paddy for removing silt under a 'supervision committee' of the village.	The village assembly at Ukkal sold some land to the tank. The income of this land was to be utilized for the upkeep of two boats assigned to the tank by a private person.
Dharmapuri, Salem district, A.D. 878-79.	No. 348 of 1901.	Repair by a private individual.	
Coḷavāridhi; Sholinghur, North Arcot district; A.D. 914-915.	*Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 221–225.	Grant of a field in favour of the tank.	

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Name, Locality, Date and Benefactor	Reference	Maintenance arrangement	Other particulars
Nangavaram, Kulittalai taluk, Trichinopoly district; middle of 10th century A.D.; Prince Ariñjaya, son of Parāntaka I.	No. 342 of 1903.	Sale of a land by village assembly to a private person for boat plying in the tank.	The tank maintenance establishment consisted of six labourers, each of whom had to get one *padakku* of paddy every day for his food and clothing, a supervisor who was given 1 *kuruṇi* and a half of paddy each day; for repairing the boat a carpenter and blacksmith, each of whom got annually 2 *kalam* and a half of paddy; and the fishermen (number not mentioned) who supplied wood (for repairs to the boat) and got 2 *kalams* of paddy annually. The village assembly had to get the land cultivated and to meet all these charges out of the income. If they failed to do it, the then reigning king could fine them and get it done. Altogether provision was made for an expenditure of 412 *kalam* (= 12 *marakkāl* or *kuruṇi*) of paddy annually on the removal of silt. The supervisor, carpenter and blacksmith were evidently not full-time workmen and therefore they were paid at a lower rate than each of the 6 labourers.
Nangavaram, Kulittalai taluk, Trichinopoly district; middle of 10th century A.D.; Prince Ariñjaya, son of Parāntaka I.	No. 343 of 1903.	'The boat was to be utilized for removing silt. One hundred and forty baskets of earth had apparently to be taken out of the tank and deposited on the bund every day. Each of these baskets was big enough to hold six *marakkāl*.	f

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Name, Locality, Date and Benefactor	Reference	Maintenance arrangement	Other particulars
		That is to say, about 200 cubic feet of earth to be taken out every day.'	
The 'big tank' at Bāhūr near Pondicherry; A.D. 985 to 1013; Rājarāja I.	No. 178 of 1902.	Villagers agreed to contribute to the revenue of the tank.	The Committee for 'supervision of tanks' in the village levied the contributions and agreed to arrange for the removal of the silt annually. If any of the villagers refused to pay, the then reigning king could impose a fine to be credited to the tank-fund and have the work carried out.
Gaṅgaikoṇḍān in the Tinnevelly district; A.D. 1010-11; Rājarāja I.	No. 160 of 1895.	Breaches in the bund repaired at the expense of the temple.	Tank at the village of Arikesarimaṅgalam had been granted to a temple.

Venkayya has referred to many more irrigation tanks excavated in the Tamil country, but I have selected for the above list only those in the case of which a mention is made of tank-maintenance arrangement. The period covered by these inscriptions is from the beginning of the 7th century A.D.,[1] to the beginning of the 11th century A.D. In concluding his article, Venkayya gives a summary account of the election, composition, functions and *modus operandi* of the Committee of the village assembly for 'supervision of tanks,' which each village in the Tamil country seems to have had in ancient times. It may be of interest to note here the functions of the Committee. Venkayya (p. 210) writes:

> 'It may be presumed that all endowments made in favour of tanks were entrusted to them, and that they had to invest money endowments in the best possible way. We may suppose that they utilized them in reclaiming waste land and cultivating it, in order to pay the interest on the endowment from the produce. They had apparently to look after the cultivation of lands granted to tanks. This income from both these sources had to be applied to meet the charges for the annual or periodical removal of silt in tanks and for repairs, so far, I suppose, as funds would permit. Fines to be credited to the tank-fund were levied by them. Endowments for watersheds to supply drinking water to thirsty wayfarers were apparently entrusted

[1] In the Telugu and Kanarese countries, the construction of tanks was quite as common as in the Tamil country. In fact, their records take us back by one century (*vide* Venkayya, *loc. cit.*, p. 208). Here also grants of land used to be made on the occasion of the consecration of tanks. Gifts were also given by individuals for repairs or the beneficiaries shared the expenses. Repairing of breached bunds was considered of unlimited merit.

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to them (No. 175 of 1898). Future research must decide what other duties they had to perform. The king does not appear to have had any direct control over the upkeep of tanks. He could of course enforce the obligations incurred by village assemblies as trustees of endowments made for tanks.'

The main cause of the deterioration of irrigation tanks is their silting up and on occasions breaches in tank-bunds. The former can be and should be attended to as a routine matter for keeping the tank in a serviceable condition whereas the latter requires large sums of money for repairs at one time. For these two sets of tank improvement measures, funds from two different sources were available as is indicated by Venkayya. He says:

> 'It has been already pointed out that the removal of silt in tanks was made from endowments given specifically for the purpose. In fact, grants of land or money made to tanks were to be utilized primarily for the removal of silt. For breaches in tank-bunds and similar accidents beyond man's control the villagers depended apparently on private charity.'

It may also be recorded that during periods of famine, even private individuals undertook the excavation of tanks as a relief measure (No. 560 of 1902). Venkayya thus summarizes the evidence of the inscriptions in regard to irrigation in Southern India in ancient times:—

> 'From these inscriptions and the transactions recorded in them it appears that repairs to tanks were undertaken as works of merit. But, as in most cases tanks had endowments of land or money, the repairs were executed at the expense of these endowments. In the Kanarese country the term *kodage*, which, according to Mr. Rice (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. III, p. 8), has continued in use to the present time from great antiquity, denotes a grant of land rent-free for the construction or upkeep of a tank.[1] In cases where no endowments existed or where they were not properly managed, and where no private individuals were charitable enough to undertake repairs at their expense, the village assemblies could grant some land either near the tank to be repaired or from the waste land of the village, over which they seemed to have enjoyed undisputed ownership, as an inducement to undertake the work. In course of time the cultivable waste of villages must have dwindled down, and in cases where no private enterprise or charity was forthcoming to repair the tanks, it must have been undertaken at the joint expense of the villagers, as they were all to benefit by it. Thus apparently arose the custom of *kuḍimarāmat*[2] in Southern India.'

It may be noted that except for a mention of fishermen, who supplied wood for repairing the boats maintained at Nangavaram in the 10th century A.D., there is no mention of fishery-lease money derived from tanks. From the following 8 Tamil Inscriptions ranging from 1378 A.D. to at least the 16th century A.D., it would appear that the income from the lease of fishery in tanks was generally sufficient for the maintenance and improvement of irrigation tanks.

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[1] See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 51.

[2] According to the *Madras Manual of Administration* this term means 'contribution of labour for petty repairs to irrigation works, which the ryots are bound to give by immemorial custom'. There is a law now for enforcing it or collecting its value.

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List of the Tamil Inscriptions of the 14th to the [illegible] century A.D. with references to fishery in irrigation tanks

Reference	Provenance	Details
1. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 164 of 1943.	Chivvada, Tiruttani Division, Chittoor district. Stone in the village. A.D. 1378.	Records, in Pramādi year during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihararāya, that Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Macha Reḍḍi Gaṇapati-Reḍḍiyār constructed a sluice for the tank at Siyapāḍi *alias* Uttamasolanallūr and that he provided for its dredging by authorizing the fish lease money derived from it to be utilized for the purpose.
2. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 167 of 1944.	Pandravedu, Chandragiri taluk, Chittoor district. Stone set up on the tank bund near the village. A.D. 1409.	Records, in Śaka 1332, in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Devarāya, an order of Mallamanna Uḍaiyār by which Madiarasar made arrangements to spend the amount realized by sale of fish in deepening the tank at Pakanravedu.
3. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 168 of 1942.	Indiravanam, Polur taluk, North Arcot district. Slab set up on the tank bund. A.D. 1445.	Records in Śaka 1368, Krodhana in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Devarāya Mahārāja, the provision made by Tammu Nāyakar for dredging the tank at Indiravanam with the proceeds of the sale of fish acquired from the tank.
4. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 145 of 1924.	Koḍuṅgālūr, Wandiwash taluk, North Arcot district. On a slab lying in the tank. A.D. 1521.	Records the gift of the income from the lease of fishery in the tank at Koḍungalūr in Marudadunāḍu for deepening the tank by Dalavāy Śevvappa Nāyaka, for the merit of Tirumalai Nāyaka, the agent of the Vijayanagara king Krishṇaya Deva Mahārāja in the year Vikrama, Tai, 5 (A.D. 1520).
5. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 262 1928.	Nāṅguneri, Nāṅguneri taluk, Tinnevelly district. North wall of the outermost *prākāra* of the Vanamāmalai-perumāl temple. A.D. 1591.	Records, in Śaka 1513, Kollam 766, Khara, the grant by the temple authorities, and the assemblies of Śivaramangai, etc., of the right of fishing (*pāśi*) in the Śolapāṇḍyapereri to certain residents in return for clearing the silt of the tank every year.
6. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 16 of 1945.	Puliyūr, Tiruvallūr taluk, Chingleput district. Slab in the Perumal temple. 16th century A.D.	States that a certain Mudaliar, the agent of Tirumalaināyakkar assigned the fish income from the tank at Puliyūr for the expenses of dredging and strengthening its bund.
7. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 97 of 1943.	Sitteri, Polur taluk, North Arcot district. Stone lying in the dry lake-bed. 16th century A.D.	Fragment. Seems to state that the income from the fish lease should be utilized for the upkeep of the lake.
8. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.* Inscription No. 266 of 1942.	Madura, Madura district. First *gopura* of the Sundareśvara temple. Date not clear.	Highly damaged. Date, etc., lost. Seems to record gift of land to a *bhaṭṭa* of the *Āśvalāyana sūtra* and refers to the spending of the fish lease amount on the local tank.

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It will be seen from the above table that in the case of the first five inscriptions (A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1591) the fish lease money was sufficient only for desilting (dredging or deepening) the tanks but in the later three inscriptions it is stated to have been used for the general upkeep of the tanks (dredging the tank and strengthening its embankments).

Development of Fishery in Irrigation Tanks

It is unfortunate that I have had no access to any recorded inscriptions from the 11th to the 14th century A.D., dealing with the construction and maintenance of irrigation tanks through fishery revenue otherwise it would have been possible to trace the history of fishery development in tanks. The mention of fishermen in the middle of the 10th century A.D., in connection with the tank at Nangavaram is of special interest. The fishermen seem to have supplied wood, presumably for repairs to the boat, and for this service received 2 *kalams* of paddy annually. The carpenter and blacksmith, who were part-time workers for the tank, got 2½ *kalams* of paddy annually as against the full-time workmen who got one *padakku* of paddy per person per day. It would appear reasonable to presume that the normal occupation of the fishermen was to fish in the tank without giving any lease money for the fishery of the tank and that in addition they supplied wood for repairs to the boat. The latter service, as has been noted above, was paid in paddy.

If my presumption is correct, it would follow that in the very early stages of the construction of irrigation tanks, there was only natural fishery in the tanks and that the production of fish was not so large as to have received the attention of the 'supervision of tanks' Committee as a source of revenue. The fishermen may have lived near irrigation tanks and eked out a precarious living by fishing. Between the 11th and the 14th century, the practice of stocking and rearing of species of economic importance in irrigation tanks must have sufficiently advanced so as to produce enough revenue from the fishery of the tank for the proper maintenance of the tank.

Fortunately a work of the 12th century A.D., *Mānasollāsa*[1] by the great Western Chāḷukya King Bhūlokamalla Someśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI, shows that the practice of rearing fish in tanks had been established by that time and that angling was a pleasant pastime for the kings. Someśvara reigned from 1127–1138 and wrote *Mānasollāsa* in 1131 A.D. The *Matsyavinoda* Section of this work not only gives the habits and habitats of the principal marine and freshwater fishes of the Chāḷukya kingdom but describes in detail the methods of fattening various types of fishes in tanks. A detailed account of this work is in the press. It is abundantly evident, however, that with the practice of fish culture in irrigation tanks, the fishery lease money alone proved sufficient for the repairs to the tanks.

Irrigation Tanks in Bengal

I am not familiar with the practices for the maintenance and repairs of irrigation tanks in most parts of India, but, from a fishery-development point of view, I had to deal with a large number of improved tanks in Bengal

[1] Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. LXXXIV (1939).

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during my tenure of office as Director of Fisheries, Bengal (May 1942 to December 1946). In 1937, a Bill was introduced in the Bengal Legislature for the improvement of tanks and the following were stated to be its objects and reasons[1]:—

> 'There are numerous old irrigation tanks and bunds in Bengal which have become useless, as they have not been kept in proper repair. The object of this bill is to provide for the repair and re-excavation of these. The Bill provides first of all for the issue of a notice on the owners of such tanks asking them to execute the necessary repairs. If the owners do not comply with the notice, the Collector may then empower a private person, a local authority or a co-operative society to carry out the repairs and recover the cost in easy instalments from the persons benefited.
>
> There are no expropriation, as the tank or bund is handed back to the original owners in an improved condition, after the cost of excavation and other incidental costs have been recovered.
>
> It is hoped that this procedure will be useful in ordinary times to enable old tanks and bunds to be improved, and that it will be particularly useful in times of famine and scarcity, when it is necessary to excavate tanks to provide employment for labourers.'

The Bill became an Act in 1939. It was amended in 1946 and further amended in 1948. At present the West Bengal Act XXIV of 1948 is 'The Bengal Tanks Improvement (West Bengal Amendment) Act, 1948'. A perusal of the Act would convince anybody of its complicated nature, slow procedure and lack of any assurance of the tank being maintained in an improved condition by the daily or annual removal of the silt and strengthening of the bunds. The simple and effective procedure of the ancient times is nowhere in evidence in the Act. However, it is for the relevant authorities to study the traditional practices and build their future programmes on the knowledge and experience of the ancient Indians, which is our heritage. I am concerned here with the revenue from the fishery in these tanks. With a few brilliant exceptions, the use of these tanks for fishery development has hardly progressed beyond the 10th century A.D. stage of South Indian irrigation. Though it is recognized in the Act (Clause 13, p. 9) that a new lessee will compensate any person having a right to catch fish in the tank and to lease out to any person the right of rearing and catching fish in the tank (Clause 18, p. 13), there is hardly any recognition of the fact that through proper management these tanks can yield sufficient revenue from fishery-lease so as to enable the owner to maintain the tank in an improved condition without any expenditure from any other source.

Irrigation tanks and Fish-farming

In my article on 'Fishery Resources of Western Bengal and their Utilization' (*Sci. and Cult.*, XV, pp. 176–180, 1949), it was stated that:

> 'Of all the freshwater fisheries resources of West Bengal, ponds[2] provide a wealth, which is still greatly under-developed, in spite of the fact that in starting the Fisheries Department in 1942, the Government of Bengal laid down pond culture as its first objective. So far

[1] *The Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, August 6, 1937, p. 217.
[2] The term 'Ponds' includes irrigation tanks as well as smaller domestic ponds.

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as the scientific side of this development is concerned, Bengal has already been recognized as the leading exponent of this resource utilization. Unfortunately, administrative difficulties in harnessing very fully this resource have not yet been overcome. A large number of ponds are still lying in a derelict condition.'

The irrigation tanks, which can be drained out, if desired, and get filled up from precipitation over an extensive area, are very suitable for scientific fish-farming. Those familiar with the art of pond culture can easily recall a number of obvious advantages for fish farming in irrigation tanks, for instance, the drying up of the tank ensures fertilization of the bottom soil, the extensive catchment area also helps in fertilizing the tank, drainage of water for irrigation facilitates netting, extensive water area ensures free movements of fish and their grazing over a wide area, spawning facilities, etc. Usually the Indian carps do not breed in confined waters, but in certain irrigation tanks of the Midnapur and Bankura districts, riverine flood conditions are produced during the monsoon months and fishes spawn on favourable grounds.[1] Other tanks can also be improved for this purpose and thus a very big fish fry industry can be established in these tanks.

Conclusions and Suggestions

A comparison between the management of the irrigation tanks in ancient Southern India and present-day Western Bengal leads one to make the following obvious suggestions:—

1. The irrigation tanks are public utility projects and should, therefore, not be owned by private individuals. If they are owned by individuals, the Government should acquire them on paying suitable compensation to the parties concerned.
2. Their proper utilization and upkeep should be entrusted to village panchayats (assemblies) which should appoint special committees for the supervision of tanks.
3. A special tank-fund should be opened in each village for the collection of endowments, gifts, donations, etc., for the tank. Every family should be induced to make contributions on all ceremonial occasions according to its means. Contributions to the tank fund should be regarded as specially meritorious.
4. Fish-farming should be encouraged in all irrigation tanks and the revenue derived from fishery should be credited to the tank fund.
5. A regular staff of labourers should be maintained out of the tank fund for the desilting of the tank and strengthening of its bund.
6. Just as building of temples and mosques and digging of wells along highways are regarded as works of great merit and piety, similarly excavation of irrigation tanks should be regarded as of special merit.

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[1] *Vide* Symposium on the Factors influencing the spawning of Indian carps. *Proc. Nat. Inst. Sci. India*, XI, pp. 303-312 (1945).

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Since India gets seasonal rainfall through the monsoons and experiences severe draught at other periods, the great value of irrigation tanks cannot be doubted, especially when food-shortage is a great national problem. Such small irrigation projects can ensure double cropping and help us to fight food scarcity. More than the shortage of the cereals is the shortage of protein food. By raising fish in irrigation tanks, we shall be able to kill two birds with one stone. Let each irrigation tank be a multi-purpose project subserving irrigation, fish production, horticulture on bunds, recreation, etc.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL IN THE EARLY DAYS OF MUGHAL RULE

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(Communicated by Sri Jadunath Sarkar)

(*Received June 2, 1950*)

Due to the paucity of the available data, the discussions on Bengal's revenue history of the Mughal period, particularly its earlier part, has so long been more or less perfunctory. However, two notable attempts have been made so far in this direction. In the 18th century, Grant produced his two exhaustive, but often undependable, works: 'Political Survey of the Northern Circars' (written 1784) and 'A Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances in Bengal'. In the present century, W. H. Moreland published 'The Agrarian System of Moslem India' (Cambridge, 1929); of which work one section is devoted to the revenue history of Bengal. The papers on which Grant's studies were based were 'chiefly contained in about 20 volumes of Persian ferds, or account of revenue, prior to the era of the dewanny, . . . entirely procured through the influence, of a light and private purse,' in Hyderabad. As the sources of Grant's information are no longer traceable, it is difficult to pass any accurate judgment on his work.[1] It is, however, surprising that a study of the contemporary sources now available go to prove that Grant's analysis is very often correct in matters of detail, though his general thesis is fundamentally wrong. This anomaly may be explained with reference to the fact that Grant 'described Murshid Quli's methods with substantial accuracy', but erroneously supposed that Murshid Quli's system was the same as Todarmall's and that there had been no change in the intervening period.[2] Hence as, in fact, many of the details of Murshid Quli's revenue administration were similar to those of the period under review, Grant's statements on such matters is now found to be true.

The 'Mahl' (*māl*) or territorial income in the days of Murshid Quli, as also throughout the entire period of Mughal rule in Bengal, according to Grant, was 'generally considered under the denomination and common idea of a land tax, imposed on certain classes of native and hereditary proprietors called Zamindars.' Further, 'about the year, 1582, the revenue-demand on the peasants was fixed in detail by Todar Mal at figures representing one-fourth of the average produce . . . . Collections were made according to it by zamindars, who were annual contracting farmers, with stated allowances by way of commission, and small estates, their entire legitimate receipts never exceeding ten per cent of the Demand.'[3] Grant, however, mentioned as items of lesser importance the lands immediately dependent on Khalsa Sharifa 'including the capital town, with its dependent circar . . . . and the principal paraganah or district of all the other

[1] Fifth Report (edited by Firminger), Vol. 2, p. 172; Moreland: Agrarian system of Moslem India, pp. 194, 195-196.
[2] Agrarian System, p. 194.
[3] Fifth Report, II, pp. 29-30; Agrarian System, p. 195.

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circars, under the subordinate rule of nabobs, foujedars or aumils' parcelled out into revenue division 'under Kroris with a 5% commission,—and the Jagirs assigned to officers for maintenance of troops and personal dignities, 'by a feudal temporary tenure.'[1] It is significant, however, that though Grant describes the land-tax imposed on the zamindars, as the main territorial income of the government, 'the Reserved area . . . on Grant's figures, considerably exceeded the area given in Assignment.'[2]

Moreland, in his chapter on the revenue history of Bengal, pointed out the basic errors of Grant's thesis and suggested some necessary amendments. For our present purpose, we need take note of a few points raised by him. In the first place, he pointed out that the statistics given in the *'Ain*, for Bengal in particular, represent 'valuation, not demand',[3] to which, however, the demand might have approximated in the later days. Secondly, the state-demands in Bengal, as the testimony of the *'Ain* clearly proves, were fixed by estimate, not assessment. We may further add that for our period the idea that the territorial income was conceived mainly as an impost on zamindars is basically incorrect. Moreland provisionally suggested that, 'when Bengal was annexed by Akbar, there were some chiefs, and some old-established farmers, . . . both classes paying fixed sums by way of Demand; and that apart from the areas so held, the officials or assignees dealt with the villages either through farmers or through the headmen.' Gradually, 'the officials came . . . to occupy the position of farmers, paying the amount of the Valuation, and making what they could. As time went on, the distinction between chiefs, farmers and officials disappeared, because there was in fact no difference in the incidents of the various positions, and all alike came to be known as zamindars.'

Before we put forward our objections to Moreland's hypothesis, it is only fair to take note of the fact that he offered, 'not as fact established by evidence, but as tentative inference, to be confirmed or modified in the light of further knowledge'. Such further knowledge is now available in the copious references to revenue administration contained in the *Baharistan* and the *Fathiyya-i-Ibriyya*, which, unfortunately, were not utilized by Moreland. Interestingly enough, the *Chaṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundaram also supplies valuable information on this point. In the few following paragraphs we shall attempt a reconstruction of Bengal's revenue administration in the early days of Mughal rule, particularly during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir on the basis of these data. Our criticism of Moreland's views—now being stated briefly—will be elaborated in course of this reconstruction.

The suggestion that the chiefs, like the farmers, paid 'fixed sums by way of demand', cannot be accepted in view of the fact that our sources throughout the period speaks of 'peshkash', not 'hastbud jama', with reference to the chiefs. In making it, Moreland fell into the same error as Grant, of equating the system prevalent in a much later epoch with that in an earlier one. Secondly, it is not correct to hold that the officers or assignees in all cases dealt with the ryots through farmers or headmen. The lands assigned to farmers or Mustajirs are clearly distinguished from such parts of the Khalisa or crown lands where officers collected revenue through their own men or those appointed by provincial authorities. The Jagirdars, too, we are told, made arrangements for collection through their own men. As to the transformation of the officers into farmers, the beginning of the process perhaps go back to our period; but still many decades were to pass

[1] Fifth Report, II, pp. 32-33. [2] Agrarian System, p. 197.
[3] Agrarian System, pp. 196 sq. and Appendix G.

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before all who paid revenue to the Government came to be known by the general name of zamindar. And, finally, in our period at least, there were major differences 'in the incidence of the various positions', as the above reference to the position of the chiefs alone will prove.

The starting point in our study of the revenue history of Bengal under the Mughals is the meagre account in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*. 'The demands of each year', it runs, 'are paid by instalments in eight months, they (the ryots) themselves bringing mohurs and rupees to the appointed place for the receipt of revenue, as the division of grain between the government and the husbandman is not here customary. The harvests are always abundant, measurement is not insisted upon, and the revenue demands are determined by estimate of the crop. His Majesty in his goodness has confirmed this custom.'[1] The information contained in this brief account are few: first, we learn herefrom, of the payment of the annual 'demands' in eight monthly instalments. However, the *Baharistan* refers to two collections a year following the two harvests in autumn and spring.[2] Secondly, we are told of the payments being made in cash, and that directly to the government. The last mentioned fact can, of course, refer to the directly administered parts of the Khalisa lands alone. Finally, there follows the most important information that the method of crop-estimation, not measurement, was current in this province—a fact emphasized particularly by Moreland. But it may as well be noted here that though measurement was 'not insisted upon', it was not entirely unknown either. The statement that Nathan's men went to 'survey and inspect the villages' in Tajpur—Purnea may be a casual slip of the pen, understandable in a man familiar with the Upper Indian custom of survey and measurement,—or even a vague reference to the method of crop-estimation itself, for it is the only statement of its kind occurring in *Baharistan*.[3] But Mukundaram's woeful tale of the oppressive Dihidar who measured 15 cottahs to a Bigha cannot be explained in any such way.[4] So we are left to conclude that, while in most of the areas the system of crop-estimation was current, in some at least, that of survey and measurement were, perhaps, also in vogue, particularly within the zamindars' estates.

Baharistan and the *Fathiyya* (continuation), as already mentioned, supply us with more detailed information. From these, we can at least reconstruct the rough outlines of the revenue administration in Bengal during our period with some amount of certainty. The government's income, as Grant pointed out, was derived from two main sources. Of these, land (mahl), of course, was the more important one. The other was known by the general name of Sair duties 'arising from a variety of imposts chiefly on personal property'. The *'Ain* also refers to both these sources of income. The various types of Sair duties will be discussed later. As to the land-arrangement, the total taxable area may be said to have been divided into three broad classes. First, there were the lands of the Khalsa Sharifa or the crown lands, directly administered by the revenue department of the provincial Government. Secondly, there were the assignments or jagirs granted to officers for their maintenance. These two types, however, seem to have often overlapped each other. Thirdly, there were the lands of the zamindars or semi-independent chiefs, formally conferred

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[1] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's translation), Vol. II, pp. 121-122.
[2] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* (Dr. Borah's translation), Vol. II, pp. 779-780.
[3] Ib., II, p. 742.
[4] Cf. *Kavikankan Chandī* (Ed. by A. C. Mukherji), p. 4, 'পনর কাঠায় মাপে কুড়া'; also p. 102, জিনিতে প্রজার মায়া, জমি দিবে ত মাপিয়া।

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on them as their assignments. In most cases these lands were but only such as the zamindars themselves possessed at the time of their acceptance of vassalage. Besides these types, there were also the rent-free lands granted for various reasons. But such lands, in practice, formed parts of one or other of the three classes mentioned above. The Khalisa lands might be administered for revenue purposes either directly by the officers of the Government or leased out to revenue-farmers known as Mustajirs.[1] In either case, the revenue realized from these lands was to go to the imperial court.[2] The part of the Khalisa land, directly managed by the State might again be administered in one of two alternative ways. The collections might be made either through the Kroris and Faujdars or the lands might be entrusted to individual officers and receipts taken for the same. The receipts apparently implied the officers' responsibility for collection of the amounts shown in the Tumar.[3] Nathan further informs us, that 'whatever (revenue) falls short in the crown lands (Khalisa) must be written in the name of some one.'[4] It may either imply the joint responsibility of the officers administering the crown lands or, what is more probable, the obligation of particular officers to pay up any deficit in collection.

The initial arrangements for revenue collection were made either by the officer who conquered or was charged with the pacification of a locality or by the diwan of the particular area in question.[5] Assessment and preparation of a rent roll (nuskha) were necessarily the primary tasks of the diwan or the officer charged with revenue management of a locality. An officer, assisted no doubt by a subordinate staff, would be sent to prepare the rent-roll or register of revenues. The ideal register was to be prepared on the basis of 'an estimate of the revenues' with the consent of the ryots and 'to the advantage of the imperial treasury', signed by the Qanungos and the Qabuliyats (deeds of agreement) of the chaudhuris enclosed therewith.[6] The register thus prepared would be kept in the Government record-office in charge of the accountants of the officer concerned, to be enforced on the ryots and the jagirdars.[7] On the rent-roll being prepared, the diwan or the officer in charge divided the territory into 'well-defined circles' (chakla) and entrusted one part of the lands to mustajirs and the other to kroris and faujdars.[8] The division of revenue-paying territories into well-defined circles does not, however, seem to have been universally practised. In any case, 'necessary arrangements for each' of the collectors were made, implying apparently that every one of them had to enter into agreements individually with the government regarding collections.[9] Of the officers appointed by the Government for the purpose the krori was the chief. It is evident that his duties no longer corresponded to the literal implication of his designation (viz., collector in charge of an artificial revenue-circle yielding one crore of dams), but were far more general in character. He appears in our sources simply as the chief revenue-collector of a region. Shaykh Ibrahim was appointed krori for the whole country of Kamrup. Following the establishment of a thana in Rangali-khata, a junior mansabdar received this appointment for the region.[10] But a number of kroris might also be appointed for a particular locality, perhaps one for each chakla, where such divisions were introduced.

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[1] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* (Dr. Borah's translation), I, pp. 272-3, 289.
[2] Ib., pp. 299, 310.
[3] Ib., I, pp. 268, 299.
[4] Ib., II, p. 779.
[5] Ib., I, pp. 273, 289, 403; II, p. 626.
[6] Ib., I, p. 157; II, pp. 667, 742.
[7] Ib., I, pp. 144, 157.
[8] Ib., I, pp. 272-273, 289.
[9] Ib., I, p. 289.
[10] Ib., I, pp. 342, 353.

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Of the subordinate staff of official and semi-official functionaries who assisted in the collection of revenues, three deserve special mention: first, there was the karkun or registrar of the collection of revenues, an employee of the Government, apparently associated with the krori.[1] Secondly, there were the Qanungos, a hereditary class of local assessors who assisted the Government in the preparation of the rent-roll. Thirdly, there were the chaudhuris, or village headmen whose 'Qabuliyats' accompanying the 'nushkha' suggest that in some cases at least collections were made through them, and not directly by the Government officers from the ryots. The revenue arrangements in Bakla, where a part of the territory was entrusted to kroris and chaudhuris, further indicates that this was really the case.[2] Evidences of direct payment, found in the *'Ain* as also in *Baharistan*, however disproves quite clearly the theory put forward by Moreland that collections were made through farmers and village headmen only. Besides, the Qabuliyats, like the Qanungos' signatures, might also be meant merely to testify to the correctness of the rent-roll and incidentally, to the obligation of the villagers to abide by its terms. To these three classes of men associated with revenue-collection, we are to add of course, the ubiquitous mutasuddis or accountants.[3] The latter, of course, were associated not merely with revenue-collection, but other branches of administration as well. As Moreland correctly guessed, the accuracy of the rent-rolls and revenue accounts in general could not be accepted merely on the good faith of assessor and officers. The mutasuddis, it appears, were entrusted with the task of checking the accounts though occasionally special parties might secretly be sent to check the authenticity of rent-rolls.[4] Occasionally, we also hear of soldiers assisting the collectors, specially in the newly conquered territories. And it is to be noted also, that this complex machinery, with all its ramifications, was not in operation everywhere. In an unsettled region, or in a newly annexed one, the chief officer on the spot would proceed to collect revenue on his own initiative and deal with the situation as he thought best, in complete disregard of all elaborate paraphernalia.[5] The usual machinery, in its entirety or in parts, might immediately be introduced in such places.[6] But oftener, we may suppose, the officer and his men would remain content with collecting the dues from the farmers, the chaudhuris and the ryots with the solitary aid of the soldiers.

A fact of special interest is that the diwan or krori of a particular locality might, and actually did, introduce changes in the revenue assessment of the parganas under him apparently without any fresh inquiry. Charging the allowance of the paiks or archers to the rent-roll of the ryots, seems to have been a common form of extortion. It has to be added, however, that when such enhancements fomented serious discontent, the root of the trouble would be removed and the detested officer transferred to some other office.[7]

The mustajirs, or revenue-farmers, also enjoyed considerable independence in the matter of revenue collection. Deeds of acceptance were taken for the parganas given to them. This practice surely implied that they undertook to pay specific sums to the Government in accordance with the 'tumar', or some rough estimate, where the tumar was not applicable. Following such agreement, the mustajirs would take possession of the parganas, 'after making a slight increase in the rent', and naturally would

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[1] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* (Dr. Borah's translation), I, p. 353.
[2] Ib., I, p. 132.
[3] Ib., I, p. 157; II, pp. 747, 777-78.
[4] Ib., II, pp. 741-42, 747, 778-79.
[5] Ib., I, pp. 273, 403; II, p. 625.
[6] Ib., I, p. 353.
[7] Ib., I, pp. 288-89, 370.

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also think 'of increasing it more for their own benefit and expenses'. Since we may well assume that the amounts they agreed to pay to the Government corresponded to the sums payable by the ryots, on the basis of crop-estimates, such enhancements were only natural. It is even more certain that these would foster discontent. But nowhere do our sources refer to any Governmental interference with the activities of the mustajirs. The discontent of the ryots of Jahangirabad, due to the tax enhancements for which the mustajirs were at least as much responsible as the diwan, led to the removal of the latter alone.[1] Thus, it would appear, that so long as the revenue-farmers paid the stipulated sum to the Government, they were free to make as much money as they could, at the cost of the ryot.

We may now turn our attention to the land-arrangements in the Jagirs granted to the officers. Here, too, a distinction has to be made between the officers' personal jagirs جاگیر and those granted for the maintenance of their soldiers تنخواہ or for such specific purposes as the upkeep of the flotilla (Nowara lands). Nathan's father, for instance, received 22 mahals of Bhati and Ghoraghat 'as his personal jagir' and several parganas of Orissa, Midnapore and Burdwan 'in lieu of the salaries of his men', i.e., as tankhwah.[2] The latter were parcelled out among the soldiers and their officers and, apparently, were enjoyed as rent-free service tenures like the paikan lands of a later epoch.[3] Special arrangements were made in the parganas for the maintenance of the workers and officers of the fleet.[4] The exact nature of these arrangements is not quite clear. Parts of such lands might be parcelled out among 'the workers and officers of the fleet' and collections made directly from other parts to meet the general expenses of the fleet. We have, however, no definite evidence in support of our conjecture.

The management of the personal jagirs were more complicated. Practically all the references to the topic in the earlier part of *Baharistan* mention arrangements for collection being made personally by the officer. Nathan's father, Ihtimam Khan, for instance, sent his personal assistant Muhammad Murad, to make the necessary arrangements, for his personal jagir. The latter 'appointed revenue collectors in different places,' 'despatched two efficient regiments to two important places,' and also instructed the latter 'to help the revenue collectors.'[5] During the viceroyalty of Ibrahim Khan, Nathan similarly 'sent his Diwan Ray Balabhadra Das in order to regulate the revenue and the administrative affairs' of his jagirs.[6] But in the latter part of *Baharistan*, particularly in the chapter's dealing with the period of Shahjahan's usurpation, a different type of arrangement is mentioned. Even in the days of Ibrahim Khan, we find Nathan demanding the revenue of the Pargana Khuntaghat, granted to him as his jagir in lieu of his services, from the provincial diwan.[7] During Shahjahan's short-lived usurpation of power, Shir Khan Fath-Jang complained that he was not receiving his allowance from the jagir of Ghoraghat and was allowed to send hundred horsemen to help the revenue-officers in collecting revenue. At about the same time Nathan accepted the jagir of Tajpur-Purnea on condition that he would be allowed 'to go there personally to punish the zamindars and to make them obedient.'[8] Evidently, all these instances refer to an arrangement whereby the collections in the parganahs assigned as jagirs to officers were made by government collectors and the income as estimated beforehand, made over to

[1] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* (Dr. Borah's translation), I, pp. 288-89.
[2] Ib., I, pp. 12-13. [3] Ib., I, p. 29. [4] Ib., I, p. 43. [5] Ib., I, pp. 11, 13.
[6] Ib., II, p. 667. [7] Ib., II, p. 673. [8] Ib., II, pp. 776-77.

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the officers concerned. If the officer doubted the accuracy of the assessment, he might ask for a fresh inquiry. Any excess apparently, went to the government exchequer, being charged 'on the rent roll'. Deficits, of course, had to be borne by the officers as their personal losses.[1]

One wonders whether this arrangement records a change which gradually came in or whether it was co-existent with the other system under which the officers themselves made arrangements for collection in their personal jagirs. A reference to the grant of assignment on revenue of particular parganas is, however, found as early as the days of Islam Khan, who granted Raja Pratapaditya 'the revenue of the districts of Sripur and Bikrampur in lieu of his allowance.'[2] Evidently, the actual revenue collection of these regions was not entrusted to Pratapaditya. But, then no such arrangements, are mentioned so early with reference to any imperial officers. The continuation of the *Fathiyya* bears testimony to the fact that in the later days an extremely complicated system was in vogue under which two sets of officials—the shiqdars and amlas of the jagirdars and the government collectors—operated in the same area, entailing endless sufferings on the people.[3] The beginning of this oppressive system may be noted in some of the instances mentioned above. Another evil, also mentioned as being very much current in the later days, viz. 'multiplicity of co-partners', first appear in the period under review. To the jagir of Ghoraghat, assigned to Shir Khan Fath-Jang during Shahjahan's usurpation was also sent another officer to secure some money therefrom.[4] The fact that the estates were scattered also involved enormous costs in collection and thus proved to be extremely uneconomic.[5] The frequent transfer of jagirs from one officer to another also entailed a great deal of suffering on the officers.[6] In cases where the collections were made by the officers' own men, it no doubt also involved a certain amount of dislocation of the machinery of revenue collection, as one set of revenue staff were replaced by another on such occasions.[7] Incidentally, the system of transfer detracted from the officers' interest in the welfare of the ryots, and collection of the maximum possible amount became inevitably their sole concern. It has to be noted, however, that in some cases at least, parts of the father's jagir were conferred on the son (e.g., in the case of Mirza Nathan).

A tenure, much more permanent, was enjoyed by the chiefs or zamindars. Theoretically, from the view-point of land-revenue, the zamindars came to occupy the same position as the officers. For as vassals of the empire,—and often they were mansabdars as well—their estates also were termed jagirs, as much as the estates of the officers. Usually, when they accepted vassalage, their territories were given back to them as their jagirs, occasionally some deductions being made therefrom.[8] But it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the analogy between the two types of tenure in our period practically ends there. Within their domains, the zamindars' men apparently managed their revenue affairs just as they pleased, without any interference from the government, even though the zamindars themselves might be kept under surveillance. To the government in our period,—and in many cases also till a much later date,—the zamindars paid a Peshkash or tribute, in cash and kind, the amount of which might be fixed in some cases. In the Sarkar Sulaimanabad, the *'Ain* informs us, the

[1] *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* (Dr. Borah's translation), II, pp. 779-80. [2] Ib., I, p. 28.
[3] *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, p. 260; *Fathiyya-i-Ibriyya* (cont.) pp. 117a; 117b.
[4] Ib., II, pp. 776-77.
[5] *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, p. 260; *Fathiyya-i-Ibriyya* (cont.) pp. 117a; 117b.
[6] Ib., II, pp. 779-780. [7] Ib., II, pp. 777-78.
[8] Ib., I, pp. 89, 102, 105, 132, 139, 231, etc.

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receipts from independent talukdars amounted to 213,067 dams.[1] 'Hastbud Jama' or fixed cash demands are nowhere mentioned with reference to zamindars in our period. Nor, apparently, were the lands belonging to the zamindars assessed. They were, however, expected to be regular in the payment of their tribute. But for these few scattered informations, our Persian sources maintain an understandable silence regarding the revenue administration in the zamindars' estates.

These are supplemented to some extent by the incidental references in a number of verses in Kavikankan's *Chaṇḍī*, which throw light on the actual relationship between the tenant and the zamindars. From these it would appear, that the actual tiller of the soil would have to pay the rent, not on the basis of the area of land he cultivated, but roughly according to the number of ploughs used for tilling it.[2] These might have been, however, the case only in some instances. In any case, the precise demarcation of the lands seems to have been often in vogue.[3] The system of giving *Patta*, formally acknowledging the ryots' tenancy right,[4] was also current, probably supplemented by the usual procedure of taking *Qabuliyats* or deeds of agreement from the ryot in return. Often, to induce the prospective tenant, and perhaps also as an ordinary practice, loans would be advanced to the ryots, particularly in the form of such implements of agriculture as cattle and seeds.[5] In these cases, the zamindar appeared in the rôle of money-lender or mahajan, One passage, it would seem, refers to the custom of granting sub-tenures. The Kayasthas who are described as having come to Kalketu's kingdom,—'all educated men' and apparently not the actual tillers of the soil—asked for agricultural loans and promised in return to settle with hundred thousand families of tenants.[6] The passage can almost surely be taken to mean that certain classes of people settled their own tenants on the lands taken in lease from the zamindars, and lived on the rents accruing therefrom. Besides, there were the various rent-free tenures granted to some people for their religious merit as also to certain occupational groups, essential for the life of the community. Many of the grantees of rent-free tenures on religious grounds must have been chosen from amongst the Brahmins and Vaishnavs.[7] Among the occupational groups enjoying inam lands are mentioned the fishermen, the oil-manufacturers, mat-makers, bagdis, tailors, carpenters, ferrymen, minstrels, milkmen, cobblers, weavers, agradanis and a number of others.[8] But it does not seem very likely that all the members of these various groups were everywhere exempt from payments in any form, specially in view of the fact that Mukundaram in his description of Kalketu's kingdom was painting a Utopia, rather than the actual state of things.

The same source has also something to tell us regarding the various dues which the tenants had to pay. Besides the main land-tax already mentioned, numerous extra imposts were levied. The practice of taking

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[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 140.

[2] Cf. *Kavikankan Chaṇḍī*, p. 101, "হাল পিছু একতঙ্কা, না করো কাহারো শঙ্কা"।

[3] Cf. Ib., p. 105, "বীর কর অবধান, প্রজাগণে দেহ দান, ভূমি বাড়ী করিয়া চিহ্নিত"। Also see f.n. 10.

[4] Cf. Ib., p. 105, "পাট্টায় নিশান মোর ধর"।

[5] Cf. Ib., p. 102. "তাড় বালা দিবে মান, করজ বলদ ধান"; and p. 105, "কিছু দিবা ধান্যবাড়ি বলদ কিনিতে কড়ি"।

[6] Cf. Ib., p. 105, "কিছু দিবা ধান্যবাড়ি, বলদ কিনিতে কড়ি, সাধন না হয় বিলম্বিত॥ ত্যাগ করিয়া কলিঙ্গ, লক্ষ ঘর প্রজাসঙ্গ, একস্থানে করিব নিবাস"।

[7] Ib., pp. 101, 104.

[8] Ib., pp. 105–107.

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Bhet or tribute, consisting usually in food-stuffs and such other things, must have been a very common one. The dealers in different articles would regularly present these to the zamindar.[1] It may be assumed also, that the people of various profession given rent-free lands would have to pay back in terms of service. At the time of the first settlement, a lump sum, called *selami* had to be paid. Special dues were also payable at the time of ceremonies and festivals, under the general name of *Parvani*. And besides, constant additions were apparently made to the dues of the poor tenant, particularly in the form of imposts in cash or kind on sales of such articles as betel-nut, salt and even rice or paddy.[2] Besides, the zamindars' men would habitually take their 'tola', i.e., share of the tenants' merchandise, from the local 'hat', of course, without payment.[3] Even worse would be the lot of the ryot, when the zamindar appeared in the rôle of the ruthless money-lender. As already noted, advances were often made by the zamindars to promote cultivation. Often, again, it seems, the ryot would have to pay back with interest, as his crop would be seized as soon as the corn in the field were ready for harvest, lest the debtor-tenant should escape without paying.[4] Even such natural calamities as flood, etc. with their disastrous effects on the standing crop, would not always secure remission of taxes, and dire punishments befell the ryot in cases of failure to pay.[5] But it may also be assumed that the *te-sani inam* or triennial remission mentioned so wistfully by the poor poet, or at least remission for a more limited period, were occasionally granted by the zamindar in his own interest. For when oppression exceeded a certain limit, there was always the danger of the ryots' running away to some other locality. The life of the poet himself, as also the episode of the Kalinga ryots in the story, are instances in point. The zamindars' self-interest, combined with a certain amount of lassitude inherent in zamindari administration, surely protected the ryot to some extent and relieved him from the rigours of punctual payment. Even in the estate of a landlord less noble than Kalketu, the payment of the tenants' dues in instalments in course of three years, was not perhaps impossible.[6]

We may now take note of the rent-free lands, in passing. As previously mentioned, such lands might be found within all the three categories: the crown-lands, the officers' jagirs and the zamindars' estates. At a later date the government grants were known as 'Badshahi' and the zamindars' grants as 'Hukumi'. This distinction in nomenclature might have existed even in our period. In all these cases again, the lands might be granted either as religious endowments or as service-tenures. The Muslim religious endowments in the crown lands known as madad-o-maash and aima were placed under the supervision of the provincial Sadr. The stipends of the soldiers were granted in the form of land-allocations and these to be sure, were rent-free. The *Fathiyya* (Cont.), however, mentions the grant of assignments on the revenue of particular jagirs, and not actual grant of

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[1] *Kavikankan Chandī*, pp. 105, 106.

[2] Cf. Ib., p. 101, "সেলামি কি বাঁশগাড়ি, নানা বাবে যত কড়ি, না লইব গুজরাট বাসে॥ পার্ব্বণি পঞ্চক যত, গুয়া লোন সানা ভাত, ধানকাটি কলম-কসুরে। যত বেচ চালু ধান, তার না লইব দান, অঙ্ক নাহি বাঢ়াইব পুরে"॥

[3] Cf. Ib., p. 107.

[4] Cf. Ib., p. 101, "যখন পাকিবে খন্দ, পাতিবে বিষম দ্বন্দ, দরিদ্রের ধনে দিবে নাগা। খাইয়া তোমার ধন না পালায় যেন জন, অবশেষে নাহি পাবে দাগা"।

[5] Ib., p. 100.

[6] Cf. Ib., p. 101, "তিন সন বহি দাও কর"।

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land.[1] Certain facts indicate that the government granted rent-free lands to the zamindars as well, in view of some particularly meritorious services. Correspondence dating back to the late 18th century, preserved in the Barisal district collectorate, mentions two types of rent-free tenures in the possession of some zamindars, called Nowara and Hissazat lands. The former is described as having been granted by the Mughal emperors for contribution of boats and men during the struggles with the Maghs and Firinghis. The *Hissazat* lands were granted in reward for the zamindars' personal participation in such campaigns.[2] Since this struggle raged furiously in S.E. Bengal during the period under review, it may be supposed that some of these grants at least were made even then. Of the types of rent-free grants made by the zamindars, many must have been similar to those found at a later date. The *Brahmottar*, *Vaishnavattar* and *Bhatottar* grants are mentioned by description along with a number of service tenures in the *Kavikankan Chaṇḍī*.

As to the Sair duties, Grant in his 'Political Survey' mentions seven types of imposts as being current in Bengal under Mughal rule. They are '*Mahsool*', or 'customs in exports and imports'; '*rahdarry*', an ifiland toll collected at road-side stations or chowkis 'on account of merchandise, grain and all the necessaries of life carried to market'; '*Panderry*', i.e., tax on shops of workmen and retail merchants in towns and temporary stalls at pilgrim fairs etc.; '*Mholoreffa*', on artificers and manufacturers; '*Jizya*'; '*Ferroay Foujedarry*', i.e., 'produces of fines, confiscations' and, lastly, '*chout*', or 'fourth of the sums litigated in the civil courts'. Leaving out the *Jizya*, mentioned by Grant, which was in abeyance throughout the empire in the days of Akbar and Jahangir, we find direct or indirect confirmation of Grant's statements in our contemporary sources. It is superfluous to state that income from Sair duties are mentioned repeatedly in the statistics of the sarkars of the Bengal Subah, as given in the '*Ain*.[3] Describing the condition of Bengal in particular before Shaista Khan introduced his very necessary reforms, Shihabuddin Talish stated with regret: 'From the first occupation of India and its ports by the Muhammadans to the end of Shah Jahan's reign, it was a rule and practice to exact hasil (custom) from every trader,—from the rose-vendor down to the clay-vendor, from the weaver of fine-linen to that of coarse-cloth.' In fact all 'artificers, tradesmen, and new-comers (*Kush-nashin*, i.e., well-to-do) were subject to it. Secondly, there were the house-taxes collected from new-comers and hucksters. Thirdly, the zakat, or 1/40 of the income, was charged on travellers, merchants and stable-keepers. From the pargana of Kora in sarkar Ghoraghat 18,000 dams were due as income from zakat ('*Ain* II, 136). Fourthly, the rah-dari became a great nuisance, at least towards the later part of Mughal rule. To quote once more the somewhat exaggerated words of Talish, 'On the roads and ferries matters came to such a pass that no rider was allowed to go unless he paid a dinar, and no pedestrian, unless he paid a diram. On the river highways, if the wind brought it to the ears of the toll-collectors (rah-dars) that the stream was carrying away a broken boat without paying hāsil, they would chain the river.... They considered it an act of unparalleled leniency if no higher *zakat* was taken from rotten clothes actually worn than from mended rags, and a deed of extreme graciousness if cooked food was charged with a lower duty than uncooked grains.' The shop dues and market dues are also mentioned in the '*Ain*, along with

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, pp. 265-266; also *Baharistan* (tr.), I, p. 29.
[2] *I.H.Q.*, 1948, 'Some old documents in Barisal.'
[3] '*Ain* (tr.), II, pp. 131, 134, 138, 139.

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various types of Sair duties levied on a variety of objects ranging from elephants and salt-pits to undried ginger. Dues on produce and piscary of rivers, tanks, etc. mentioned in the *'Ain*, also comes, of course, under this head. The impost on betel-nuts at Bakla yielded a considerable sum.[1] At Dacca, Manrique found Rs.4,000 being collected daily as dues from betel. 'Raiyati', occurring several times in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, refers apparently to extra imposts on land. Talish describes a 'despicable practice' as having been long in existence in several parganahs: 'when any man, ryot or newcomer, died without leaving any son, all his property including even his wife and daughter was taken possession of by the department of the crown lands, or the jagirdar or zamindar who had such power; and this custom was called ankura (= hooking).' The judicial system also gave much scope for extortion. The clerks of the Kotwali chabutra, 'in paying to the claimant his due, used to seize for the state one-fourth of it under the name of "fee for exertion".' What is more curious, and almost incredible, the plaintiff and the defendant were both 'kept in prison, until the decision of their case', 'and their liberators (itlaqgoian) took daily fee from the prisoners and paid them into the State.' It is not certain however, whether the two last-mentioned practices can be traced back to our period. All these various imposts were in vogue in the officers' jagirs as well as in the crown lands. From the jagir of Shaista Khan alone 15 lakhs of rupees used to be collected as hasil. To this formidable list we have to add those mentioned in *Kavikankan Chaṇḍī* as being current in the zamindars' estates and Talish's statement that at last 'tradesmen and merchants gave up their business, householders took to exile' would hardly appear to be an exaggeration.

In conclusion, we may take note of a few facts with regard to the revenue administration in Bengal in the days of Akbar and Jahangir. In the first place, it has to be remembered that we are not yet in a position to ascertain the exact extent to which the system described above was the continuation of an older one. If we are to take Abul Fazl's words, Mughal conquest altered but little the existing revenue system of Bengal. This statement requires obvious modification in the light of the detailed descriptions in *Baharistan* and *Fathiyya-i-Ibriyyah*. In any case, one fact emerges clearly: during the first fifty years of Mughal rule, life in Bengal was much less happy than one might suppose. The often oppressive character of the revenue system surely detracts a great deal from the glory of Pax Mughalia. Whether from this particular point of view the new regime improved in any way the lot of the common man is another question and a question that we are perhaps not yet in a position to answer.

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1907, p. 423.

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REVIEW OF BOOKS

HAPPY TOIL.—By Major-General Sir Leonard Rogers, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., LL.D., F.R.S., I.M.S. (retd.), with a Foreword by Major-General Sir John W. D. Megaw, I.M.S. (retd.), 8vo×271 pages, Frederick Müller, London, 1950. 18*s*. net.

Here is a remarkable record of toil, often under adverse circumstances, for the cause of science and for the relief of human suffering. After 27 years of work in the Indian Medical Service (now abolished), Sir Leonard Rogers retired in 1920, has continued to work for 30 years after retirement and now at the age of 83 his mental powers are said to be still unimpaired.

He was born on January 18, 1868, at Plymouth, being the seventh of twelve sons of a Cornish naval officer. Curiously enough his wife, whom he married in 1914, is the seventh daughter in a family of fourteen. Despite indifferent schooling, he worked hard under adverse circumstances and qualified from St. Mary's Hospital at the head of his year (1892) and took the F.R.C.S. in the same year, at the age of 25. Although he had obtained Honours in medicine, surgery and midwifery in the final London M.B.B.S. examination, he developed a liking for pathology and for research. He wrote his first original paper while a third year student. He thought at first of becoming a medical missionary but in the hope of prosecuting research in the virgin field of tropical diseases in India, he joined the I.M.S. in 1893.

He had a very bad handwriting, which nearly cost him a place in the competitive examination for the I.M.S. and later almost cost him the M.R.C.P. (1898). But a proficiency in shorthand stood him in good stead all his life and helped him to record the amazing details of his life and work.

He was of a 'restless nature,' of frugal habits, a non-smoker and teetotaler and had enormous powers of perseverance and endurance. Wherever he worked, he utilized his opportunities for the investigation of unsolved problems, whether in the field of human or animal diseases. He used even to utilize his vacations for research. The philosophy of his life was, in his own words, 'Do your best and don't worry.' The success of his life has, to a considerable extent, been influenced by his religious upbringing, faith and discipline in boyhood. This has supported him, he says, throughout this life's long and patient but Happy Toil.

He had to wait for six years, after joining I.M.S., before being placed in the Civil Medical Department but he utilized the period in conducting investigations on rinderpest and the epidemiology of kala-azar. He was lucky to have been posted at the Calcutta Medical College for 20 years from 1900–1920. The years 1901–1903 were occupied with work on the action of snake venoms. Investigations into the causation, pathology and therapy of amoebic dysentery and liver abscess were carried out between 1900–1912, towards which he made significant contributions and was the first to establish emetine therapy. The classification of the various types of fevers was in a confused state when he came to Calcutta. He immediately began to carry out clinical and laboratory investigations into them. He was thus able to differentiate between malaria, kala-azar, typhoid fever and various unclassified fevers. In 1904, he demonstrated from spleen punctures the presence of Leishman-Donovan Bodies, the causative parasite of kala-azar. He cultivated the parasite, for the first

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time, on June 29, 1904, but its transmission through the insect-carrier, the silver-winged sandfly, was demonstrated by other workers later on. He developed the antimony treatment of kala-azar and utilized this drug in the treatment of filariasis. We, however, find a very scant reference to the large contribution of the late Sir U. N. Brahmachari to tropical diseases, particularly to his discovery of urea stibamine (p. 116).

The bacteriology, pathology and treatment of cholera engaged his attention from 1906–1917. It was through his efforts that a rational treatment of cholera was developed, although no specific remedies could be discovered. It was also through his efforts that the preventive inoculation of cholera vaccines was pushed in India, resulting in a great reduction in the number of cases.

While in India, he became interested in the study of the epidemiology and treatment of leprosy. It was he who introduced various preparations of Chaulmoogra oil in the treatment of leprosy. Not satisfied with this he organized an empire-wide association for the prevention of leprosy (B.E.L.R.A.). He, however, felt sorry that his efforts in finding a cure for tuberculosis met with failure. The forecasting of epidemics from meteorological data became a passion with him for many years.

But the crowning glory of his stay in India was the founding of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta in 1921, which will stand as a monument to his labours for research and alleviation of human suffering for all time to come. Not being satisfied with this, he collected funds for an Endowment for prosecuting researches. No other man with less vision, less initiative, less grit and tenacity could have done this.

Sir Leonard has published over 100 original papers on subjects dealing with malaria, kala-azar, amoebiasis, bacillary dysentery, snake venoms, fevers, cholera, sprue, leprosy, filariasis and some diseases of animals, apart from papers on the epidemiology of diseases in India. He has published six books, two of which are in joint authorship.

Many of his papers written in Calcutta were read at the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was through his efforts that a Medical Section of the Society was formed in 1906 and he was elected the first Medical Secretary. The reviewer, who is a former pupil of Sir Leonard, is its present Medical Secretary. It is interesting to note that Sir Leonard was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1916, was awarded its Barclay Memorial Medal in 1921 and elected to Honorary Fellowship in 1922. He was elected President of the Indian Science Congress in 1919. In recognition of his researches, many foreign academic distinctions were showered on him, some of which are F.R.S. (London) 1916, President of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, 1933, LL.D. of Glassgow and St. Andrews Universities, medals and prizes from, and lecturership and Honorary Membership of, various societies at home and abroad.

The printing and get-up do credit to the printers and publishers, except for a few printing mistakes. There is a misprint of the word 'typhoid,' instead of 'typhus' at the end of para. 2 on page 117. We hope these will be corrected in the next edition. Workers on tropical diseases in India and abroad will find the book fascinating.

A. C. Ukil.

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Calcutta:—Published by the Asiatic Society, and Printed by Norman A. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

LETTERS

Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 2

(*Pages 65–176*)

(*Plates I–XXI*)

ASIATIC SOCIETY

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Issued October, 1951

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951.

SOME PHONETIC PECULIARITIES OF THE BENGALI DIALECT OF MANBHUM [1]

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(*Received April 1, 1950 and, after revision, July 27th, 1950*)

(Communicated by Dr. K. K. Dutt)

§ 1. GENERAL REMARKS

This dialect is spoken not only in the modern district of Manbhum but also in the portions of Ranchi, Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, and the Santhal Parganas, contiguous to it. It may roughly be considered to have two varieties, a western (W) one, spoken in and about, and to the west of, Purulia, and an eastern (E) one, elsewhere. Except where something in particular has been noted, the sounds, as a rule, are to be considered identical in their articulation and behaviour with those of the standard colloquial Bengali (SB.) as recorded by Dr. S. K. Chatterji in his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (ODBL.), *Bhāṣāprakāś Bāṅgālā Vyākaraṇ*, and other works.

The most remarkable phonetic peculiarities of this dialect, which, conjointly, are also distinctive of it, are:—

(1) A very short [i] as well as [u] between a vowel and a consonant which is distinctly felt but produces a momentary, almost consonantal impression, *e.g.*, [la^{i}th < lathi] 'kick', [ʃa^{i}r < ʃari] 'row', [ã^{u}ṭh < ãṭhu], 'knee', [kha^{u}k < khauk] 'let him eat', [ṭha^{u}kra^{i}n < ṭhakurani] 'goddess', etc. This phenomenon will be referred to hereafter as 'squeezed' [i] or [u].

(2) A very light, almost vocalic [j] as well as [w] after consonants, followed by vowels, in syllables other than the first, *e.g.*, [fiòr^{j}a < fiòria], 'negligent form of the personal name [fiòri]', [khel^{j}e < khelia] 'having played', [me^{w}a < maʃua] 'mother's sister's husband', [rògfi^{w}a < rògfiua], 'negligent form of the personal name [rògfiu]' etc. In effect, the previous vowel is not made to feel the strain as normally before a conjunct.

(3) A pure nasal consonant, probably identical with the original Sanskrit Anusvāra, before [g, gfi, ɟ, ɟfi, d, ḍfi, and b] in certain native words, *e.g.*, [kɔ^{m}ga] 'a particular plant', [ʃa^{m}gfia] 'wooden beam in thatched houses', [a^{m}ɟir] 'guava', [ba^{m}ɟfia] 'barren,' [ba^{m}dor] 'monkey', [ka^{m}dfi] 'shoulder', [ta^{m}b^{u}] 'tent', [tu^{m}ba] 'gourd', etc. Together with the previous pure vowel, it corresponds, as a rule, to a nasal vowel in SB., *e.g.*, [ca^{m}d: cãd] 'moon', [bi^{m}dfi: bĩdfi] 'hole', [rɛ^{m}da: rɛ̃da] 'plane', [ʃa^{m}ɟfi: ʃãɟ͡ʒfi], etc. Before [g, gfi], however, and in combination with them it corresponds to SB. [ŋ] or [ŋg], *e.g.*, [ra^{m}ga: raŋa, raŋga] 'red', [co^{m}ga:

[1] Accepted for the Indian Linguistics Section of the 15th Oriental Conference, held in Bombay, November, 1949.

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ʧoŋa] 'pipe' or funnel', [ʃaⁿgfia: ʃaŋa, ʃaŋga] 'wooden beam in thatched houses', etc. It also develops often before the same consonants, after a vowel immediately preceded by [n] or [m], presumably because such a vowel tends to be nasal, *e.g.*, [nɛⁿɟ: lɛʄ͡ʒ] 'tail', [niⁿd: nid] 'sleep', [mɛⁿɟmɛⁿɟ: mɛʄ͡ʒmɛʄ͡ʒ] 'onomatopoetic suggesting fatigue', [maⁿɟa: maʄ͡ʒa] 'to cleance by rubbing', etc. Sometimes it replaces nasal consonants in colloquializing Sanskritic forms still in use, *e.g.*, [mɔⁿdɔ] for *manda*, [rɛⁿga] and [nɔⁿda] 'negligent forms respectively of the proper names *raṅga* and *nanda*', etc.

This 'pure nasal consonant' is undoubtedly the same as the reduced nasal described in ODBL., pp. 360ff., but only a step advanced towards decolourization. To the ears of the present writer the colouring due to the following stop is imperceptible.

(4) A fondness for aspiration, which, if inherited, is seldom lost even when it is in the final sound and never when it is followed by a vowel. In this it is sharply distinguished from SB. which has a remarkable tendency to deaspirate all medial and final aspirate sounds, cf. inherited words, [maɟfi: maʄ͡ʒ] 'middle', [kɔtha: kɔta] 'talk', [piṭhali: piṭuli] 'paste of powdered rice', etc. along with the native or borrowed, [ugfia: uga] 'file', [ulkhi: ulki] 'tattoo', [gɔⁿdfiɔl: gẽdɔl] 'infants' feeding spoon', [√cācha: √ʧãʧa] 'to scrape', [ḍɔbfia : ḍoba] 'pool', [√libfi: √nib] 'to be extinguished', [laṭhim: laṭim] 'top', [bɔⁿdfiɛɟ: bɔndeʄ͡ʒ] 'orderliness', etc. Original aspiration is often transferred, when a sound or a syllable has been lost: [pagfia] < S. *pragrāha* 'tether', [tothe < tohate] 'in thee', [naikhɔ < nafiikɔ] 'is not', [kakhɛ < kafiakɛ] 'to whom', etc. The eastern dialect, especially as spoken by the upper classes, shows the tendency of SB. to a limited extent, but the western one never misses an aspirate sound and possesses even aspirate forms of [n], [m], [r] and [l], thus [√poṛfi] < S. √*paṭh* 'to read', [muh̃ẽ] 'in the face' < S. *mukha*, [kumfiir] < S. *kumbhīra* 'crocodile', [kumfiar] < S. *kumbhakāra* 'potter', [√panfia] < S. *pra*-√*snu*, 'to ooze through teats', [unfian] 'oven', [pɔrfia] 'to wear', [culh̃a] 'oven', etc. The lower classes often introduce aspiration in sounds which originally do not appear to have had any, *e.g.*, [ɟabhɛ] 'you will go', [cĩṛfia] < S. *cipiṭaka* 'flattened rice', [ʃẽkha] 'to bake', etc.

(5) A preponderance of nasal sounds. The contributory factors are mainly: (i) Retention of all inherited and developed nasal sounds (excepting a few cases of change of initial [n] to [l]) in common with SB. (ii) Formation of the gerund with [-j̃ẽ] or [-ĩ] of verbal roots ending in vowels, which happen to include all causative and denominative roots, *e.g.*, [khaj̃ẽ] 'having eaten' [: √kha], [dhuj̃ẽ] 'having washed' [: √dhu], [mɔraĩ] 'killing,' causative of [√mɔr] 'to die,' [cɔṛaĩ] 'slapping,' denominative from [cɔṛ] 'slap', [keṭhʷaĩ] 'being chilled,' denominative from [kaṭh] 'wood,' etc.,—the western variety, especially as spoken by the lower classes, extending it even to the rest, *e.g.*, [pɔṛfij̃ẽ: E. pɔṛʲɛ] 'having read' [: √poṛfi], [kaṭʲẽ: E. kaṭʲɛ] 'having cut' [: √kaṭ], etc. As gerunds, besides their own proper uses, enter into three tense-formations, the effect is enormous: thus for instance, [khaj̃ẽ] 'having eaten' enters into [khaj̃ẽcfiɛ] 'he has eaten,' [khaj̃ẽchilɔ] 'he ate,' and [khaj̃ẽ thaʲkbɛk] 'he shall have eaten'. And (iii) tendency to nasalize a syllable immediately preceding or following a nasal one *e.g.*, [khãj̃ẽ: khaj̃ẽ], [cɔṛãĩ: cɔṛaĩ], [bhũĩ] < S. *bhūmi*, 'earth', [ṭhãĩ] < S. *sthāna* 'place', [mũj̃ẽ], locative of [mu] 'mouth', [dhũã] < S. *dhūma* 'smoke,' [rũã] < S. *roman* 'hair,' etc., besides all vowels after [n] or [m] generally.

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With these remarks we proceed to record certain individual peculiarities of the sounds.

§ 2. Individual Sounds

1. *Vowels*

[ɔ]

This vowel is modified into a variety [ɔ̀] approaching [o] (but by no means identical with it), when it is followed immediately or in the next syllable by either of the close vowels [i] and [u], original or epenthetic, full or squeezed, or by a 'light' [j] or [w]: *e.g.*, [ɦɔ̀ri, ɟɔ̀du, dɔ̀i, bɔ̀u, ɦɔ̀ʲlɔ, ɦɔ̀ᵘk, rɔ̀ʲkkha (= S. *rakṣā*), ɔ̀ʲddɔ (= S. *adya*), pɔ̀ʲɽlɔ < pɔ̀ṛilɔ, ɦɔ̀rʲa < ɦɔ̀ria, rɔ̀gɦᵂa < rɔ̀gɦua, mɔ̀ᵘd-dada < mɔ̀dhu-dada]. But it remains unaffected, if the conditioning element belongs to a compounded word or a suffix whose separate existence is meant to be felt: thus [pɔt-bɦuɭa, gɦɔr-i, gɦɔr-ṭi, lɔt-ṭuku], but [pɔ̀ri, pɔ̀ṛuk < √paṛ], [gɦɔ̀ṭi < gɦɔṭ], [ʃɔ̀tu, ɖɦɔ̀nu] 'endearing nicknames respectively of [ʃɔ̀tiʃ] and [ɖɦɔnɔɲɟɔj]', etc. In pronouncing [ɔ̀] the upper lip remains inert, while the lower one is rounded, whereas in pronouncing [o] both are equally active; thus the difference between the first vowels in [bɦɔ̀ri] and [bɦɔr] or [ʃɔ̀ruk] and [ʃɔra] can be distinctly felt. But [ɔ̀] in SB. seems to be somewhat more rounded. Under any other conditions [ɔ] remains unaffected, thus differing from its behaviour in SB.: cf. [bɦalɔ, kalɔ, bɔṛɔ, tɔtɔ, ɦɔ̀ʲlɔ, ɔnɔbɔrɔtɔ, mɔn, pitɔl] with SB. [bɦalo, kalo, bɔṛo, tɔto, ɦolo, ɔnobɔroto, mon, pitol], respectively.

[ɔ] tends to replace [o], when [a] follows in the next syllable, intervened by a consonant, cf. [gɔch: gɔcha] 'bunch', [bɦɔk(h)] 'hunger': [bɦɔkha] 'hungry', [rɔg] 'disease',: [rɔga] 'diseased', [ɖɔr] 'cord': [ɖɔra] 'stripe', [gɔṛ] 'leg': [√gɔṛar] 'to kick', [gɔʃ] 'peg': [gɔʃal] 'nail', etc. If, on the other hand, [a] follows immediately, [o] tends to change to [u] cf. [luaᵂ < loha] 'iron', [rũã] < S. *roman* 'hair', [buaʲl: SB. boal, H. boari] 'a kind of fish', [puati: SB. poati] 'pregnant', etc. Often, however, there is no following [a], *e.g.*, [mɔṭ]: H., SB. [moṭ] 'baggage', [gõṛ]: SB. [gõṛ] < S. *goṇḍa* 'fleshy navel', [kõth: SB. kõt] < S. √*kunth* 'exertion to evacuate', etc. This tendency is to be contrasted with the opposite one in SB. of frequently changing [ɔ] into [o].

[ɔ] sometimes corresponds to [a] in SB.: cf. [√bɔna: √bana] 'to make', 'to cut', etc., [sɔɟa: saʒʒa] 'to arrange or make', [bɛɦɔja: beɦaja] 'shameless', [bɦɔta: √bɦata] 'to fill up (a pit)', the definitive suffix [-ṭɔ: -ṭa], the verbal suffixes [-thɔm:-tam, *e.g.*, bɔ̀ʲlthɔm: bɔ̀ltam] and [-lɔm: -lam, *e.g.*, gɛlɔm: gɛlam], etc.

The change, in words of three or more syllables of [ɔ] or [a], when followed by [i] or [i:] in the next syllable, to [u]—so common in SB.—is almost totally absent here, cf. [ɛkhɔni: ekhuni] 'just now', [kuṛaʲr: kuṛul] < S. *kuṭharī* 'axe', [tɛ̃tɔ̀ʲl: tɛ̃tul < OB. tentɔli] 'tamarind', [ṭhaᵘkraʲn: ṭhakrun < ṭhakurani:] 'goddess,' [piṭhali: piṭuli] 'paste of powdered rice', [madɔ̀li: maduli] 'amulet', etc. An exception appears, however, to be made in the eastern dialect in favour of the ending [-ɔni:] and its extension [-ɔnʲa], cf. [nɔ̀ruʲn (< S. *nakhaharaṇī*), cɦɛ̃ckaᵐduni f. & -dunʲa m., lacunʲa, raᵐdɦuni, ɖɦakuni, ʃiɲtuluni, ciruni, kuruni], etc.

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[a]

The change of [a] to [e] or [o] through the influence of a preceding [i] or [u] respectively, so common in SB., is altogether unknown here, cf. [cĩṛa: cĩṛe, piṭha: piṭhe, muṭha: muṭho, ɟuta: ʄuto]. Final [a] of gerunds changes universally to [e], but the one in the previous syllable is, as a rule, not affected, cf. [ra^{i}kh^{j}e: rekhe, khãʄe: khee], etc. Unlike SB. any other [a] following [i] or [j] remains unaffected, although the one in a previous syllable may, in the eastern dialect, change to [e]: [fiò^{j}a: fiòre; fiò^{j}lda: fiòlde; ɟel^{j}a, W. ɟal^{j}a: ʄele; fiẽ^{i}ṛ^{j}a, W. fiãṛ^{j}a: fiẽṛe; fie^{i}tar, W. fiath^{j}ar: fieter]. Likewise [a] after [u] or [w] is not changed to [o], although the one in the previous syllable may, in the eastern dialect, change to [e]: [fiãṛi-khek^{w}a, W.-khauka:-kheko; bfieṛ^{w}a: bfieṛo, H. bfiaṛua; ɟed^{w}a < ɟòdu, ɟadɔb; rògfi^{w}a < rògfiu].

In a few sporadic instances [a] corresponds to SB. [ɛ]: [ḍfia^{m}ga: ḍfiɛŋa; naŋṭɔ, naŋṭa: nɛŋṭa; lakar: nɛkar; kha^{m}da, f.-di: khẽda, f. khẽdi:].

[i]

The phenomenon of squeezed [i], already mentioned, originates in either (1) an anticipatory (*i.e.*, metathetic or epenthetic) or (2) an original [i], squeezed between a vowel and a consonant or consonants, *e.g.*, (1) [ra^{i}t < rati, pa^{i}kh < pakhi, ra^{i}kh^{j}e < rakhia, de^{i}kh^{j}e < dekhia] and (2) [fiò^{i}lɔ < fiòilɔ, kha^{i}lɔm < khailɔm, ã^{i}ṭhɔ < ãiṭhɔ (< S. *āmṛṣṭa*)]. It is universal in originally polysyllabic words, but selective in di-syllabic ones: *e.g.*, [bò^{i}ʃbɛk < bòʃibɛk, pò^{i}ṛlɔ < pòṛilɔ], but [fiati, cabi, baṭi] etc., as against [ra^{i}ʃ < raʃi, ba^{i}ṛ < baṛi (< S. *vṛddhi*)]. An epenthetic squeezed [i] appears before the Sanskrit conjuncts *kṣ* and *jñ* (followed by *a* or *ā*), which are (in perfect agreement with medieval Bengali) pronounced as [kkh (j)] and [gg (j)~] respectively, the [j] element being already evanescent: *e.g.*, [bhò^{i}kkh(j)ɔn] = S. *bhakṣaṇa*, [a^{i}gg(j)ã] = S. *ājñā*. Squeezed [i] never appears after [i], thus [miṭbɛk < miṭibɛk, miṭlɔ < miṭilɔ].

Unlike SB., [i] is retained here and not changed to [e], even when followed by [a], [e] or [ɔ] in the next syllable: thus [gila, gile, gilɔ] < [√gil] 'to swallow,' or [piṭa, piṭe, piṭɔ] < [√piṭ] 'to strike.'

[u]

The same remarks apply to squeezed [u]. Examples are: (1) [a^{u}kh cf. EB. aukh] 'sugar-cane' < S. *akṣu*, *vide JBORS.*, XVII, p. 27, [ã^{u}ṭh < ãṭhu] 'knee', [ṭha^{u}kra^{i}n < ṭhakurani:] 'goddess', (2) [kha^{u}k < khauk] 'let him eat', [de^{u}k < deuk] 'let him give', etc. Epenthetic squeezed [u] can be felt before medial consonants followed by light [w], *e.g.*, [ghe^{u}ṭ^{w}a, bhe^{u}ṛ^{w}a], etc. It does not appear after [u] and tends to become rarer in the present generation.

[u] often corresponds to [o] in SB., *e.g.*, [tumar, tumadɛr: tomar, tomadɛr] 'your' (sing. and pl.), [chua^{i}c: chõac͡] 'contagion', [lua: loha, noa] < S. *lauha* 'iron', [ku:n: kon] < S. *koṇa* 'angle', [rũã: rõa] < S. *roman* 'hair', [kua: koa, kuo] < S. *kūpa* 'well', [kutha : kotha] 'where', etc. The examples indicate that the [u] here is in some cases inherited and in others a substitute for [o] for which see above under [ɔ].

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As in the case of [i], [u] also does not change to [ə], even when followed by [a], [e] or [ɔ], *e.g.*, [ʃuna, ʃunɛ, ʃunɔ] < [ʃun] 'to hear', or [dfiua, dfiuɛ, dfiuɔ] < [√dhu] 'to wash'.

For [u] < [ɔ, a] see under [ɔ] and for [u] < [o] under [o].

[e, ɛ]

[ɛ] is a development of original [e] and corresponds to SB. [æ], which is unusual here. The same stem presents [e] if followed by [i] or [u], and [ɛ], if by [a], [ɛ] or [ɔ]: cf. [lekhi, lekchi, lekhuk] < [√lekh] 'to write', but [lɛkha, lɛkhɛ, lɛkhɔ]. It does not, however, appear amenable to the influence of Taddhita suffixes with a consonantal beginning; compare [ɛkṭi, ɛkṭuku] with SB. [ekṭi, ekṭu].

For cases of substitution of [a] by [e], see under [a]. Raising of [e] to [i] through the influence of a following [i], so common in SB., is very rare, cf. [deʃi: diʃi, geichi: giʃi], but [biṭi < beṭi][1] 'daughter' and [mithi < methi:].

[o]

As already noted under [u], the final or penultimate [u] of stems is not changed to [o] as in SB. under the influence of a following [a], [e], or [o]. But, as there, [o] is changed to [u], when followed by [i] or [u], *e.g.*, [gfiõṛa < ghoṛa : gfiũṛi; noṛa < noṛa : nuṛi; purohit > pur(fi)u^{i}t]. Cases of replacement of [o] by [ɔ] has already been mentioned under [ɔ].

2. Consonants

Of the consonants the palatals [c, ch, ɟ, ɟfi] deserve notice in that they are here pure stops (as in Lahnda, see S. Varma, *JRASB.*, Vol. II, 1936, p. 75) and not affricates as in SB. [ph] and [bfi] also are never pronounced as spirants. [ṛ] and [ṛfi], originating in intervocalic [ḍ] and [ḍfi] respectively or independently, are carefully distinguished, although in the eastern dialect there is a tendency to represent both by [ṛ], *e.g.*, [boṛ] < Pr. *vaḍa* < S. *vaṭa*, [bfiāṛ] < S. *bhāṇḍa*, but W. [√poṛh, E. √poṛ] < Pr. √ *paḍh* < S. √*paṭh*, W. [pīṛfia, E. pīṛa] < S. *pīṭha*, [doṛho] < S. *dṛḍha*, etc. Confusion of [r] and [ṛ] is very unusual, cf. [baṛi] < S. *vāṭī*, but [gfiɔr] < Pr. *ghara* < S. *gṛha*. [ṛ] seems to exert a powerful influence in cerebralizing dental sounds, cf. [ḍfia^{i}ṛ: SB. dhaṛi] 'mother of a young beast', [ḍāṛ] < S. *daṇḍa* 'fine', [ḍāṛa: SB. dāṛa] 'to stand', [ṭaṛoʃ: SB. taṛoʃ] 'influence of an inflammation or boil', [ṭũṛ] < S. *tuṇḍa* 'mouth', [ḍeṛ: SB. deṛ], etc. There is a tendency to change an initial [n] to [l], *e.g.*, [lati] < S. *naptṛ*, [lai] < S. *nābhi*, [la] < S. *nau*, [lokhra] < Pers. *naχrā*, [liɔr] < S. *nīhāra*, [loɟor] < Pers. Ar. *nazr*, [lorom] < Pers. *narm*, etc. Exceptions are found in (1) certain familiar and borrowed words, *e.g.*, [nak] 'nose', [nɔkh] 'nail', [niṭ] < Eng. net, [nɔkol], [nokʃa], etc.; (2) the negative and interrogative particles [nɔ], [na], [nai], but contrast [lɔi, lɔo, lɔj: SB. nɔi, nɔo, naj], and [lara: SB. nara]; and (3) words having another nasal sound in them, *e.g.*, [nɔnɔd, nim, nɔmuna, namta, ñam, ni^{m}d, ne^{m}ɟ], etc. Literacy, however, is exerting a powerful influence in checking the tendency. The reverse one of changing [l] to [n] is rare, but cf. [nɔŋka < lɔŋka]; [nu:n] < S. *lavaṇa*, against [alona]; [nɔmba <

[1] Compare, however, Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa *biṭṭi* = *beṭī* of Hindi etc.

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lɔmba], [neᵐɟ: SB. ʃɛɟ̃], all of which happen to contain another nasal sound.

§ 3. Sounds in Combination: Sandhi

1. *Loss of vowels*

This is especially noticeable in compounds and sporadically before a few vowel suffixes. (i) Final [ɔ] or [a] in the previous member is often lost: [ɟɔtɔ̊+din > ɟɔddin] 'as many days', [bɦalɔ+manuʃʲa > bɦalmanuʃʲa] 'one posing as a good man', [thana+dar > thandar] 'perambulating night constable', [maɦina+dar > maɦindar] 'servant, esp. helping in agriculture'. (ii) [i] or [u] is reduced to its anticipatory squeezed form: [ḍhẽki+ʃala > ḍɦẽⁱkʃal] 'place for the husking apparatus', [ɦãṛi+upaʃ > ɦãⁱr-upaʃ] 'starvation to the extent of not cooking', [gɦɔ̀ṭi+ṭɔ > gɦɔ̀ⁱṭṭɔ] 'the water vessel', [mɔ̀dɦu+dada > mɔ̀ᵘddada] 'elder brother or cousin named Madhu', [ũcu+kɔpali > ũckɔpali] 'woman with prominent forehead'. (iii) Final [ɛ] in [kɛnɛ] 'why' is lost before [na] 'not' and the [a] of the latter is replaced by [ɛ] in the syntactic combination [kɛnnɛ] 'why not'.

2. *Consonantal Assimilation*

(i) Final unvoiced stops, followed by voiced ones, are voiced, their aspiration, if any, disappearing simultaneously: [ḍak+gɦɔr > ḍaggɦɔr] 'post office', [thak ga > thag-ga] 'let it remain', [rakh ga > ragga] 'go, put it', [ni:c+ɟaⁱt > ni:ɟɟaⁱt] 'low caste', [ɦat dɦua > ɦaddɦua] 'washing the hands', [rɔth+dɛkha > rɔddɛkha] 'seeing the chariot', [path dɛkh > pad-dɛkh] 'see your way', [cup diɟ̃ɛ̃ > cub-diɟ̃ɛ̃] 'keeping quiet,' [cup marʲe > cummarʲɛ] 'keeping mum', [bap+bɛṭa > babbɛṭa] 'father and son'.

(ii) Dental stops, followed by palatal ones, are palatalized: [raⁱt+cɔra > raⁱccɔra] 'bat', [ɦat+chaṛa > ɦacchaṛa] 'to let go', [lait+ɟamai > laⁱɟɟamai] 'husband of a grand-daughter', [bɔd+ɟat > bɔɟɟat] 'scoundrel'.

(iii) Final [ṛ] after a nasal vowel, when followed by a cerebral stop, is reduced to [ṇ], the nasalization of the previous vowel disappearing simultaneously: [bɦãṛ+ṭɔ > bɦaṇṭɔ] 'the pot', [mãṛ+ṭuku > maṇṭuku] 'the small amount of rice-scum', [mũṛ ṭhũⁱkchɛ > muṇ-ṭhũⁱkchɛ] 'he is striking his head'. But it changes to [ḍ], if the previous vowel is pure: [ḍeṛ+ṭa > ḍeḍ-ṭa] 'just one and a half', [bɔṛ+ṭɔ > bɔḍ-ṭɔ] 'the straw-rope', [bɔṛ (< bɔṛɔ) + ṭhakur > bɔḍ-ṭhakur] 'father-in-law's eldest brother'. When followed by [l], it is assimilated to the latter: [lɔṛ+lɔ̀ṛʲa > lɔllɔ̀ⁱṛʲa] 'pert', [luṛ+luṛi > lulluṛi] 'uvula'.

(iv) [r] is assimilated to a following palatal, cerebral or dental stop or [l]: [kɔr+chi > kɔ̀cchi] 'I am doing,' [du:r+ɟa > duɟɟa] 'go away', [caⁱr+ṭa > caⁱṭṭa] 'just four', [ʃir+ḍãṛa > ʃiḍḍãṛa] 'spine', [dɦɔr+tɔ > dɦɔt-tɔ] 'just hold', [par+na (< S. *pāraṇā*) > panna] 'breaking one's fast', [mɔ̀ⁱr+lɔ (< mɔ̀rilɔ) > mɔ̀ⁱllɔ] 'he died'.

(v) [c] and [ṭh] are assimilated to a following [ʃ]: [pãc+ʃer > pãʃʃer] 'five seers', [ɟeṭh (< ɟeṭhi:)+ʃaʃ > ɟeʃʃaʃ] 'wife of father-in-law's elder brother.'

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(vi) [t+ʃ] is often changed to [cch]: [ɦat+ʃan > ɦacchan, also ɦat-ʃan] 'sign made with the hand'; [li:t+ʃɔpɔnɛ > licchɔpɔnɛ, also lit-ʃɔpɔnɛ] 'every day in dream'.

(vii) [n] preceding or following [l] is assimilated to it with simultaneous nasalization of the previous vowel: [ɟan+la (< Portu. *janella*) > ɟãlla] 'window', [an+lo > ãl-lo] 'bring, O girl', [kan+laⁱṛchɛ > kãl-laⁱṛchɛ] 'it is shaking its ears', [al+na > ãlla] 'clothes-horse', [bɛl+na > bɛ̃lla] 'rolling pin', [phɔl+na (H. phʌlana) > phɔ̃lla] 'so-and-so', [dol+na > dɔ̃lla] 'swing'. It may be more correct to say perhaps that in the sequence [l+n] there is first of all a metathesis and then assimilation.

§ 4. An illustrative passage in Manbhum dialect (E)

ʃɔkalɛ mu dɦuⁱtɛ ɟãⁱʃɛ̃ baᵐdɦɛr aⁱṛʲɛ mitɔn caṭhuⁱɟɟar chelʲa opur ʃɔᵐgɛ ɦɔṭat dɛkha. bɔ̀ⁱllɔm, "ɦɔ̀i, opu ɟe ɦe! kɔbɛ aⁱlɛ? ɛddin kutha chilɛ?" bɔ̀ⁱllɛk, "ar, bɦai! ʃat gɦaṭɛr ɟɔl khãⁱʃɛ̃ kaⁱl ʃɔ̀ⁱndɦaj gɦɔr phirɛchi. pɔ̀ṇḍitɛr chelʲa, ɟɔɟmanio kɔm nai: bɦaⁱblɔm 'ikhɛnɛ thaⁱklɛ—ɟai kɔ̀ri kɛnnɛ—mukkhu ɦɔ̀ⁱtei ɦɔbɛk. ɛkbar beⁱrʲãĩ dekhi'. bɦaṭpaṛa, nɔbɔddip, kaʃi gɦuⁱrʲɛ bɛakɔrɔn, kaⁱbbɔ, ʃrĩti, næj tɔkkɔ pɔṛa ɦɔ̀ⁱlɔ. bedantɔo kichu pɔ̀ⁱṛʲechi. mɔnɛr mɔtɔn ɦɔ̀ⁱlɔ nai." bɔ̀ⁱllɔm, "ba, ba! bapɛr bɛṭa bɔṭɔ, ɦe! gãʃɛ̃ro nam kɔ̀ⁱrbar ɛkṭa lok ɦɔ̀ⁱlɛ. tɔ, ibarɛ gɦɔrei thaⁱkchɔ tɔ?" u bɔⁱllɛk, "ɦɔ̃, bɦai. gɦɔrduar deⁱktɛ ɦɔbɛk tɔ! khet-khamaro kɔra cai. gãʃɛ̃i ɛkṭa ṭol khuⁱlbɔ bɦabchi." ami bɔ̀ⁱllɔm, "beʃ, beʃ. tumar kɔtha ʃuⁱnʲɛ bɔṛɔ anɔndɔ ɦɔ̀ⁱlɔ, bɔ. ɛtɔdinɛ ɟãⁱʃɛ̃ cɦelʲagular ɛkṭa gɔ̀ti ɦɔbɛk. amadɛr gɔ̀ⁱmda, rɔ̀ᵘgɦʷa, cɔᵐda tɔ bɔ̃ʃɛ̃ ɟaⁱtei bɔ̀ⁱʃʲechɛ. deⁱkhʲɔ, bɦai, uadɛr upɔr ɔlpɔ lɔɟɔr raⁱkhʲɔ."

সকালে মু ধুইতে যাঁইঁয়েঁ বাংধের আইড়ে মিতন চাঠুইজ্জার ছেলা ওপুর সংগে হটাৎ দেখা। বইল্লম, "হৈ, ওপু যে হে! কবে আইলে? এদ্দিন কুথা ছিলে?" বইল্লেক, "আর, ভাই! সাত ঘাটের জল খাঁইঁয়েঁ কাইল সইন্ধায় ঘর ফিরেছি। পণ্ডিতের ছেলা যজমানিও কম নাই: ভাইব্‌লম 'ইখেনে থাইক্‌লে—যাই করি কেন্নে—মুক্‌খু হইতেই হবেক। একবার বেইরাঁইঁ দেখি'। ভাটপাড়া, নবদ্দিপ, কাশি ঘুইরে বেআকরন, কাইব্ব, স্রিতি, ন্যায় তক্ক পড়া হইল। বেদান্তও কিছু পইড়েছি। মনের মতন হইল নাই।" বইল্লম, "বা, বা! বাপের বেটা বট, হে! গাঁয়েঁরও নাম কইর্‌বার একটা লোক হইলে। ত, ইবারে ঘরেই থাইক্‌ছ ত?" উ বইল্লেক, "হঁ, ভাই। ঘরদুআর দেইক্‌তে হবেক ত! খেতখামারও করা চাই। গাঁয়েঁই একটা টোল খুইল্‌ব ভাব্‌ছি।" আমি বইল্লম, "বেশ, বেশ। তুমার কথা শুইনে বড় আনন্দ হইল, ব। এতদিনে যাঁইঁয়েঁ ছেলাগুলার একটা গতি হবেক। আমাদের গইম্‌দা, রউঘ্‌বা, চংদা ত বঁয়েঁ যাইতেই বইসেছে। দেইখ, ভাই, উআদের উপর অল্প লজর রাইখ।"

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English Translation

'Having gone to cleanse my mouth in the morning, I came upon Mitan[1] Chatterji's son Opu[1] on the bank of the pond. I said, "Why, it is surely Opu! When did you come? Where have you been so long?" He said, "Don't ask, brother! Having tasted water from seven landing-places[2], I returned home last evening. Son of a Pandit, with the clientele[3] not so inconsiderable, I thought: 'If I remain here, whatever I do, I am sure to become a dunce. Let me just go out and see.' Having wandered through Bhāṭpaṛa, Nabadvīp, (and) Kāśī, I studied grammar, literature, law, and, finally, logic. I have had also a smattering of the Vedānta. It didn't come up to what I had intended."[4] I said, "Bravo! A chip of the old block, indeed! The village, too, will find in you somebody worth mentioning. So then, you are going to stay home now, aren't you?" He said, "Oh yes, brother. I have to look after the homestead[5], haven't I! The field and the threshing floor, too, have to be attended to. I am thinking of opening a Sanskrit school in this very village." I said, "Oh, very good! It gives me great pleasure to listen to your words, friend. Now, after so many days there will be some sort of salvation for the children. Our Ga^{i}mdā[6], Ra^{u}gh^{v}ā[6], (and) Ca^{m}dā[6], I have to admit, are nearly gone to the dogs. You will remember, brother—won't you?—to keep an eye on them."

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[1] Endearing nicknames for Mṛtyuñjay and Upendra respectively.
[2] That is 'having diverse experiences in various places.'
[3] *I.e.*, the lay disciples.
[4] Lit., 'It did not become like (what I had in my) mind.'
[5] Lit., 'home and door.'
[6] Negligent nicknames respectively for Gobinda, Raghu and Candra.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951.

COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KING VIJAYAMĀṆIKYA OF TRIPURĀ

By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, *Ootacamund*

(*Received June 30, 1950*)

In April 1949, reports reached me that a number of new copper-plate inscriptions have enriched the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. In course of my official tour in search of epigraphic material, I reached Calcutta in January 1950 and, thanks to the kindness shown to me by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-President of the Society, Dr. N. Ray, Honorary General Secretary, and Mr. S. K. Saraswati, Librarian, I was given an opportunity to examine the inscriptions which had been recently secured by the Society. Of the three copper-plate inscriptions examined by me, one was found to be the Kailan (otherwise called Kailain) plate of King Śrīdhāraṇarāta of Samataṭa, which had been published by myself some time ago in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, September 1947, pp. 221–41. I was, however, very glad to find that the two other copper-plates were new records of considerable importance that required early publication. One of these two is a charter of King Bhavadeva, who had his capital at the city of Devaparvata in Samataṭa in the present Tipperah-Noakhali region of East Bengal, while the other is a private record belonging to the reign of King Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā on the south-eastern fringe of India. The authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal kindly agreed to send the plates to me at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, for further examination as well as for the preparation of impressions. The plates reached me about the end of March. Two months later, the authorities of the Society were gracious enough to grant me permission to edit the unpublished inscriptions for the Society's journal. I take this opportunity to record my feelings of gratitude to the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for the kindness shown to me and edit the copper-plate inscription of the time of King Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā in the following pages.

No information was available to me about the findspot of the plate and about the circumstances leading to its discovery. Since, however, Baḍa-Kāmatā, one of the villages granted by the document in question, seems to be identical with the village of that name (popularly called Baḍ-Kāmtā or Baḍ-kāntā) situated in the Tipperah district of East Bengal (East Pakistan), it is possible that the plate was originally found with an inhabitant of that district.

The inscription is written on one side of a single plate. The plate is rather thin and has no royal seal attached to it, possibly because it is not a royal charter but a private record of donation. It is rectangular in shape and measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in breadth. The writing has a double-lined border on all the four sides. The incision of the *akṣaras* is not deep. But the letters hang from long top lines serving as their *mātrā* and, in line 9, this *mātrā* has cut through the thickness of the plate for a length of about 3 inches. There are altogether 18 lines of writing, of which the last one covers only half the length of the other lines. The plate weighs 16 *tolās*.

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The characters employed in the inscription are the same as those found in the epigraphic and literary records of the 15th century or so, discovered in Bengal and its neighbourhood. They may be compared with the characters of the Barākar inscriptions [1] of *Śaka* 1382 (1461 A.D.) and *Śaka* 1468 (1546 A.D.), the inscription of Vikrama *Samvat* 1553 (1496 A.D.) recently published by me [2] and the Kāmākhyā hill inscription of Pramatasiṁha dated *Śaka* 1666 (1744 A.D.)[3], among epigraphs, and the Cambridge manuscript No. 1699 (1-2) of 1198 A.D.[4], Puruṣottama's *Prākṛt-ānuśāsana* dated 1265 A.D.[5], the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (R.A.S.B., No. 8067), dated 1435 A.D.[6], the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrttana* (Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Pariṣad)[7], written sometime about the 15th century, and the *Dharma-pūjā-vidhi* (R.A.S.B., No. 5438)[8], written about the 16th century or later, among manuscripts. Generally speaking, the closest resemblance of the alphabet of our record is to be found with that of the inscription of Pramatasiṁha and the manuscripts of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. Since the date of the inscription under discussion falls in the 15th century A.D., some of its palaeographical features, which are either not usually noticed or are often ascribed by scholars to earlier or later dates, may be noticed here. The theory of R. D. Banerji [9] that the fully developed Bengali form of the letter *ś* with its 'two small circles' is not to be found 'till the expiry of the 15th century' is disproved by our record which exhibits the modern form of *ś*. The form of *s* found in the inscription under review is rather peculiar as its left member is joined with the right vertical at the top of the latter. The form of *ṭ* is the same as in modern Bengali but that of *j*, with its short and straight tongue, is earlier than its modern form found in the manuscript of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrttana* and other later records. *R* with the bar across its belly has the form used now in Assam.[10] Initial *i* has the top mark above the *mātrā* as in the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrttana* manuscript. *L* is written in two different ways (cf. *kalpa-vallī* in line 4). *Ṇ* is of the modern type. The forms of *su*, *sv*, *tv*, *ty*, etc., are interesting. *Hu* is modern; but the sign for the *visarga* looks like the figure for 4. In *lpa* in line 4, the superscript has not exactly touched the subscript. There is little difference between the forms of medial *u* and *ṛ*. The numerical figures for 1, 4 and 5 occur in the inscription. Of these, the form of 5 is not modern. Final *n* has been often written without the usual *has* sign. *B* and *v* have been indicated by the same sign.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although the foreign word *terikha* (Arabic *tārīkh*) occurs in the date. The inscription is written in verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; but the date is given in a passage in prose at the end of the document and the passage introducing an imprecatory verse in line 14 is also in prose. There are mistakes of spelling as in *Saka*

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[1] *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1922-23, p. 110; above, Letters, Vol. II, pp. 21ff; Vol. IV, p. 367. The word *netra* in the date of the first inscription should be taken as 2 instead of as 3.

[2] Above, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114–16.

[3] R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, Plate X, facing p. 92.

[4] Bühler, Palaeographic chart, No. VI, column X.

[5] Edited by Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1938, plate.

[6] Banerji, *op. cit.*, Plate V facing p. 36; Plate VI facing p. 44; above, Letters, Vol. IV, pp. 367; 373ff.

[7] Banerji, *op. cit.*, Plate VIII facing p. 60; above, Vol. IV, *loc. cit.*

[8] Above, Vol. IV, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

[10] This form of *r* had been in use throughout the eastern half of Bengal and also in parts of its western half before the present dotted form of the letter was popularized by the printing press originally founded in south-west Bengal.

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for *Śaka*, *Vaisākha* for *Vaiśākha*, etc. Interesting from the orthographical point of view are also such words as *vedaṅga* (l. 5) and *brahmottara* (l. 10). The composition is poor, and there are some defects in both the language and versification. Final *m* has often been wrongly changed to *anusvāra*. The last word of one verse or half-verse has often been wrongly jointed in *sandhi* with the first word of the following stanza or half-stanza.

The inscription is dated on the 15th day of the month of Vaiśākha in the *Śaka* year 1410, and the *tithi* is given as the *Mahā-Vaiśākhī*, possibly meaning in the present context the new moon of the month of Vaiśākha. It seems from the custom followed in Bengal at the present time that the 15th day of Vaiśākha is actually to be referred to the solar month of that name. The details of the date thus seem to indicate that the Vaiśākhī new moon fell in *Śaka* 1410 on the 15th of solar Vaiśākha. If this is so, the date works out regularly and corresponds to Thursday, the 10th of April, 1488 A.D. But the word *Vaiśākhī* usually indicates not the new moon but the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha. If *mahā-vaiśākhī* is taken in this sense, the date must be regarded as irregular.

The record begins with the word *svasti*. Verse 1 introduces the King *śrī-śrī*-Vijayamāṇikya whose fame is said to have been sung by the gods. The passage *candra-candra-yaśaḥ* in this verse means 'the fame as bright as the shining moon' or 'the fame as shining as gold and the moon'. The expression *Pārtha-sahodara* in the King's description is used apparently to suggest the word *bhīma* which means both 'formidable' and 'Pārtha's brother' (i.e., Bhīma, brother of Pārtha or Arjuna). The use of such peculiar expressions would suggest that the author, although he was a poor Sanskritist and a weak versifier, was not completely unmindful of the traditions of the *Gauḍī rīti* or the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition. Verse 2 introduces the King's *mātulānī* (i.e., the wife of his mother's brother) as the wife of Daityanārāyaṇa. The real name of this lady is difficult to determine from the language used, as she is called *śrīmatī*, *puṇyavatī* and *satī*. One of these three words must have indicated the name of the lady, the other two being her epithets. Since, however, the names Śrīmatī and Satī are not known in the Tripurā traditions while the name Puṇyavatī is famous in the annals of the Tripurā state[1], it may be surmised that the name of the lady mentioned in verse 2 of our inscription was really Puṇyavatī. The lady is said to have been famous (*viditā*) as the very creeper called Kalpa (i.e., a certain creeper or tree in Indra's paradise supposed to grant all desires) on the earth. Verse 3 says that the lady mentioned in the previous stanza granted land to a Brāhmaṇa named *Ācārya* Vanamālin who was well-versed in the Vedas, after having bowed down and paying her respects to him. The next verse (verse 4) enumerates the names of the villages granted to *Ācārya* Vanamālin. Since there is no indication as regards the number of the villages contained in the passage and no means to separate one name from another, I find it extremely difficult to find out from the passage the exact names of the villages and their number. The passage containing the names of the villages runs as follows: *gāṅgaṭiyārācacāmerachāyākoṭaśvadutalācāripāḍābharāgāṅgacobaḍakāmatā*. The names, loosely fitted in a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, can, however, hardly be read without regarding many of the *a-kār-ānta* consonants as *has-anta*. And when one reads the verse in this way, the correct names of at least some of the villages may occur to him. To me the names of the villages appear to be as follows: Gāṅgṭiyārā, Cacāmer, Chāyākoṭ, Śvadutalā, Cāripāḍā, Bharāgāṅgco and Baḍ-Kāmtā. It is expected that most of

[1] Cf. *Rājamālā*, ed. by Kaliprasanna Sen, Vol. II, pp. 39, 87, 258, 318.

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these villages are still known by the names mentioned in the 15th century inscription under discussion. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify them with the only exception of Baḍa-Kāmatā = Baḍ-Kāmtā = Baḍ-kāntā which is near Comilla in the Tipperah district, East Bengal. The inscription proves the inclusion of the present Tipperah district in the dominions of the Tripurā kings which is also known from other evidences.

Verse 5 says that, after having granted the said beautiful villages as a *brahmottara* (Sanskrit *brahmatrā*)[1], the lady addressed the future rulers of the land with words that were in full conformity with the Vedas. The next verse (verse 6), which represents her request to the future kings referred to in the previous stanza, says that the future rulers of the country, whether they belong to the donor's own family or to some other royal family, should protect the lands granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas by earlier rulers, in accordance with the principles of righteousness.[2] The well-known imprecatory verse *sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc., is next quoted with the introduction *tathā ca smṛtiḥ*, 'Thus says the *smṛti* (law-book)'. The date comes at the end in lines 17-18.

The date of our inscription and the information supplied by it raise a number of interesting problems concerning the history of the Tripurā royal family, which, unfortunately, has not yet been written on scientific lines with the help of epigraphic and numismatic sources. All attempts so far made to write a systematic account of the old royal family in question are unfortunately based principally on the Bengali chronicle entitled the *Rājamālā*. Even the latest and most elaborate attempt made by Pandit Kaliprasanna Sen under the patronage of the rulers of Tripurā has been an utter failure for the want of a correct historical approach.[3] It is really most unfortunate that Sen admits his difficulty in utilizing epigraphic material, although a number of unpublished epigraphs appear to have been available to him, apparently because he could not reconcile the evidence of inscriptions with the details supplied by the *Rājamālā*.[4] The authenticity of this chronicle for the early history of the Tripurā royal family, however, seems to us not always beyond doubt. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[5] even the first part of the *Rājamālā*, usually ascribed to the 15th century,[6] appears to be later than the middle of the 18th century. The composition of the second part of the chronicle, which deals with the reign of King Vijayamāṇikya, has been ascribed to the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century.[7] It, however, seems to us that both the first and

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[1] Cf. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v.

[2] Note that the lady Puṇyavatī is here indirectly assuming the rôle of a king.

[3] I have seen three big volumes of the *Rājamālā* edited by Sen with numerous explanatory details. The fourth volume of the series appears yet to come out.

[4] See *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 194: *Tripurār tāmra-śāsanaï eï ālocanār mulibhūta viṣaya | Kintu varttamāna-kāle aneka-śāsana duṣprāpya hawāy evaṁ āviṣkṛta aneka śāsaner prati āsthā sthāpana karite hṛdaye avidhā-bhāva upathita hawāy, viṣayaṭi yathāyatha ālocanār subidhā haïla nā |* It may be noted that the author had to admit a number of discrepancies in the chronology of the *Rājamālā* which was found to be conflicting with the evidence of published coins (Vol. III, pp. 234 ff.). Unfortunately the coins and inscriptions of the Tripurā kings, so far published by experts, are not many in number. There are cases where the author is silent about expert opinion. The date on certain coins of Kṛṣṇamāṇikya was suggested by N. K. Bhattasali to be Śaka 1562 which falls within the reign of Kalyāṇamāṇikya (above, 1923, Numismatic Supplement, No. XXXVII, pp. 50-51). There is no mention of this in the author's discussion on Kalyāṇamāṇikya's reign (Vol. III, pp. 238–41). Sen would have done well if he could publish the text of the Maharani Stone inscriptions of Vijayamāṇikya, dated 1548 A.D. (A.S.I., A.R. 1921-22, p. 115; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1732).

[5] *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (above, Letters, Vol. XIV), pp. 4 note, 39, 47 and notes.

[6] Sen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 77.

[7] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 83.

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second parts of the present *Rājamālā* were compiled early in the 19th century.

There is no doubt that the accounts of the *Rājamālā* have a historical basis and are fairly reliable in regard to the period witnessed by the compilers. In regard to the earlier period, however, they must have relied on tradition, recorded or unrecorded, and their own imagination. It, therefore, seems to us that the details furnished by the earlier part of the present *Rājamālā* regarding the history of the Tripurā royal family down to the 18th century require verification from other sources.

According to the traditions recorded in the *Rājamālā*[1], King Dhanyamāṇikya of Tripurā, who married Kamalādevī, daughter of the *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa, led expeditions against Chittagong in *Śaka* 1435 (1513 A.D.) and 1437 (1515 A.D.). Nothing is said in the chronicle about the date of Dhanyamāṇikya's accession or death or about the duration of his rule. On the basis of the same traditions, he is supposed by some writers to have reigned in *Śaka* 1385–1437 (1463–1515 A.D.) and by others in *Śaka* 1412–42 (1490–1520 A.D.). According to the *Rājamālā*, Dhanyamāṇikya was succeeded by his son Devamāṇikya, although a different tradition recorded in the *Tripura-Vaṁśāvalī*[2] is said to place the rule (covering six years) of Dhvajamāṇikya, another son of Dhanyamāṇikya, between the reigns of Dhanyamāṇikya and Devamāṇikya. The reign of Dhvajamāṇikya is placed by some writers in *Śaka* 1438–43 (1516–21 A.D.), while that of Devamāṇikya is assigned to *Śaka* 1444–49 (1522–27 A.D.) by some and to 1522–35 A.D. by others. Devamāṇikya's successor was his infant younger son, Indramāṇikya, who ruled for one year in 1527–28 A.D. according to some writers and was killed by the *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa. Traditions are silent whether this *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa is identical with the general of the same name who was the father of a queen of Dhanyamāṇikya. *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa is then said to have raised Vijayamāṇikya, eldest son of Devamāṇikya, to the Tripurā throne. Vijayamāṇikya is further said to have ascended the throne at the age of seven only. According to some writers, he ruled for 42 years in *Śaka* 1450–92 (1528–70 A.D.), while others assign him a rule of 48 years in 1535–83 A.D. The difference in regard to the duration of Vijayamāṇikya's reign is said to be due to the variant readings in different manuscripts of the chronicle. According to the *Rājamālā*, Vijayamāṇikya married Puṇyavatī (Lakṣmībālā or Lakṣmīdevī according to the *Śreṇīmālā*, to a different passage of the *Rājamālā* and to Vijayamāṇikya's coins[3]), who was a daughter of the *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa. Queen Puṇyavatī is said to have herself issued a large number of copper-plate charters recording her grants of land made in favour of the Brāhmaṇas in such localities as Homnābād and Tiṣiṇā.[4] King Vijayamāṇikya later killed his father-in-law Daityanārāyaṇa because the latter had become extremely powerful in the state during the King's minority.

It will be seen from the above account that the different copies of the *Rājamālā* sometimes record conflicting traditions, that the *Rājamālā* traditions sometimes do not agree with those recorded in other chronicles, and that the chronology based on the traditions found in the chronicles is incompatible with the date of the inscription under discussion. The confusion is, unfortunately, worse confounded by the meagre details of

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[1] Sen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 8–64, 174–84. [2] Ibid., p. 178.
[3] Ibid., p. 87; Introduction, p. 33.
[4] Ibid., p. 39: *Puṇyavatī nāme haila pṛthivīte dhanyā|| Homanābāde dvije dila bahutara grāma| Tiṣināte dila grāma Brāmaṇa anupāma|| tāmrapatre likhi dila Puṇyavatī-nāme| Puṇyavatī matī satī śloke anukrame || vidhi-mate bhūmi kata utsargiyā dila|*

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epigraphic and numismatic evidence so far available on the history of the period in question.

In regard to the reigns of the above kings of Tripurā, Sen refers to two late inscriptions on the walls of the Tripurasundarī temple, both purporting to say that the temple was built by King Dhanyamāṇikya in *Śaka* 1423 (1501 A.D.), and that it was repaired by a later king named Rāmamaṇikya in *Śaka* 1603 (1681 A.D.)[1] He also speaks of two types of Dhanyamāṇikya's coins, one bearing no date but the other dated in *Śaka* 1412 (1490 A.D.)[2] He further refers to a coin of Vijayamāṇikya dated *Śaka* 1481 (1559 A.D.)[3] and elsewhere to coins of the same king dated in *Śaka* 1480 and 1481[4], although none of them is illustrated in his work. There is nothing improbable in the dates read on the coins of Vijayamāṇikya as the reign of this king must have covered considerable portions of the third quarter of the 16th century. This is suggested by the mention of Vijayamāṇikya, king of Tripurā, in Abul Fazl's *'Ain-i-Akbarī*, composed about the end of that century. The *'Ain-i-Akbarī*[5] says, 'Adjoining it (i.e., the country called Bhāṭī) is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is Bijay Mānik. Whosoever obtains the chieftainship bears the title of *Mānik* after his name, and the nobles that of *Nārāin*. He has a force of two hundred thousand footmen and a thousand elephants. Horses are scarce.'

It is impossible to reconcile, in the present state of our knowledge, the date of the inscription under review with the chronology based on the tradition recorded in the *Rājamālā* and other chronicles and on the date *Śaka* 1423 falling in Dhanyamāṇikya's reign according to a later inscription as well as the date *Śaka* 1412 read on a coin of Dhanyamāṇikya. If the date of our inscription which appears to me to be genuine[6] is to be relied on, we have to assume that King Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā ascended the throne shortly before *Śaka* 1410 (1488 A.D.) and that his rule, as suggested by the *'Ain-i-Akbarī*, ended sometime in the third quarter of the 16th century. This would allot a long reign period of about 70 years to the king. Although the implication may not be altogether impossible in view of the tradition that Vijayamāṇikya ascended the throne when he was only 7 years old, it is only wise to keep the question open in the present state of our knowledge.

According to our inscription, Puṇyavatī, wife of King Vijayamāṇikya's maternal uncle Daityanārāyaṇa, granted some villages in favour of a Brāhmaṇa in *Śaka* 1410 in her own name without the permission of the king. This apparently points to the time when the king was a minor and the *de facto* ruler of his dominions was Puṇyavatī's husband, Daityanārāyaṇa. The traditions recorded in the Tripurā chronicles, as we have seen, actually speak of a Daityanārāyaṇa as all-powerful in the state during the early years of Vijayamāṇikya's rule and also of a lady named Puṇyavatī who became famous for granting land to Brāhmaṇas in her own name fitted in *Ślokas*. The coincidence is really striking. Another interesting fact is that the passage *Puṇyavatī matī satī ślōke anukrame* in the description of

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[1] Ibid., p. 96 and plate facing it; p. 99 and plate facing p. 98.

[2] Ibid., Introduction, pp. 31–33 and plate facing p. 32. For these coins and another on which the date is doubtfully read as *Śaka* 1419, see *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1913-14, pp. 250-51 and plate.

[3] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 181.

[4] Ibid., Introduction, p. 33.

[5] Translation by H. S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 117; cf. Gladwyn's translation, Vol. II, p. 3.

[6] The date of even a genuine record may sometimes be proved to be wrong. In the present state of our knowledge, however, I hesitate to characterize the date of our record as wrong until further evidence is forthcoming.

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the generous lady as found in the *Rājamālā* seems to be an echo of *bhūloke kalpa-vall = īva śrīmatī Puṇyavatī satī* in verse 2 of our inscription. As a matter of fact, *matī* in the chronicle is meaningless unless it is taken to be a corruption or contraction of *śrīmatī*. It is also to be noticed that *śrīmatī* has wrongly one syllable in excess in the Sanskrit verse and it would have been similarly unsuited also in the Bengali verse. Under the circumstances, it is tempting to suggest that Daityanārāyaṇa, who was the maternal uncle of King Vijayamāṇikya, has been made the king's father-in-law in the chronicle and that Puṇyavatī, who was the king's *mātulānī* (maternal uncle's wife) and the wife of Daityanārāyaṇa, has been similarly made the king's wife and Daityanārāyaṇa's daughter. Two points have to be borne in mind in this connection. In the first place, it is impossible to believe that there were two persons named Daityanārāyaṇa, both all-powerful in the Tripurā state during the early years of the reign of King Vijayamāṇikya, one of them being the king's maternal uncle and the other his father-in-law. It is not, however, impossible that Vijayamāṇikya married his maternal uncle's daughter so that the same person was both his maternal uncle and father-in-law. The existence of cross-cousin marriage in the Tripurā royal family of undoubted Mongoloid origin, at least in early times, is not improbable. The second point to be borne in mind is that the real name of Vijayamāṇikya's chief queen, as already indicated above, was not Puṇyavatī but Lakṣmīdevī or Lakṣmībālā. Thus even if the representation of Daityanārāyaṇa as Vijayamāṇikya's father-in-law may be somehow explained, the mention of Puṇyavatī as the king's chief queen in the chronicle seems to be due to confusion and is very probably wrong.

In connection with the history of the Tripurā state, we may also refer to a common error about the origin of the Tripurā era. The era is 3 years in advance of the Bengal San. In June 1950, it is year 1357 of the Bengal era, while it is year 1360 of the Tripurā era. It is believed by all writers of an account of the Tripurā royal family that the Tripurā era is a regular reckoning prevalent from its start in 590 A.D. Similarly it was formerly believed by some writers that the Bengal era was a regular reckoning since its epoch in 593 A.D., although this absurd theory is no longer entertained by any serious student of history, and it is now an accepted fact that the Bengal San is nothing but the Faslī era in a different garb. The Faslī era was established by the Mughal emperor Akbar in Hijrī 971 (1563 A.D.) by converting the year 971 of the Arabic lunar reckoning to a solar year. The Hijrī year being shorter than the solar year by about 11 days, its months had no relation with the harvesting seasons of the *rabī* and *kharīf* crops. Mainly to avoid a difficulty experienced by the farmers and tax-collectors, Akbar introduced a simultaneous solar reckoning of the year since Hijrī 971, which thus came to be counted as year 971 of the Faslī era as well. The Bengal era is an adaptation of this solar reckoning.[1] There is little doubt that the so-called Tripurā era is another adaptation of the same reckoning. Scholars have explained the Māgī era, which is prevalent in the Chittagong district and has a reckoning 45 years behind the Bengal era, in a similar way.[2] We have elsewhere[3] discussed how the introduction

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[1] See S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, pp. 147, 153-54; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 172; G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (Hindi), 1918, pp. 192-93.

[2] Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Similar is the case with the Malla era of Viṣṇupur which is 101 years behind the Bengal San (cf. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, pp. 180-81). It is equally absurd to believe that this era was prevalent in the Viṣṇupur region since 694 A.D. It may of course be suggested that these eras are due to solarization of the Hijrī reckoning at different dates and are not actually adaptations of the Faslī era.

[3] See *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 557ff.

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of the use of a popular era in ancient India was due to foreigners; but it is well-known that the use of an era could not become popular in all parts of India in the early period. During the age of the Imperial Guptas, the Gupta era of 320 A.D. became introduced in Bengal and Assam. Its prevalence in the Tripurā region is proved by the Gunaighar (18 miles from Comilla) inscription [1] of Vainyagupta dated in the Gupta year 188 (507 A.D.) and the Tipperah plate [2] of Lokanātha dated in the Gupta year 344 (664 A.D.). But the use of the Gupta era was discontinued by later rulers not only in the Tipperah region but practically in the whole of Eastern India. Later kings of the Tipperah-Chittagong area, such as those belonging to the Khaḍga and Rāta dynasties,[3] Kāntideva of the Chittagong plate [4] and Bhavadeva of Devaparvata,[5] dated their charters according to the years of their regnal reckoning. The *Śaka* era seems to have been introduced by the Senas who migrated from Karṇāta (where the use of that era was very popular) and settled in Bengal in the eleventh century. The prevalence of this era in the Tipperah-Chittagong region since the Sena age is evidenced by such inscriptions as the Maināmatī plate[6] of Harikāladeva-Raṇavaṅkamalla dated *Śaka* 1141 and the Chittagong plate [7] of Dāmoḍara dated *Śaka* 1165. There is hardly any possibility of the popularity of the Tripurā era in the same area since 590 A.D.

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to determine the relation of the Tripurā royal family with any of the ancient rulers of the Tippera-Chittagong area known from epigraphic sources. I consider it very probable that the early members of the family were leaders of some aboriginal tribes of the neighbouring hilly region and that they became gradually powerful and extended their political influence on the adjoining plains. This event does not appear to be much later than the Muslim conquest of West Bengal about the beginning of the 13th century. It is, however, not possible to think that they were outsiders like the Mongoloid Ahoms who occupied Assam in the first quarter of the same century.[8] It may be pointed out here that the attempt to prove the antiquity of the Tripurā state from epic and Puranic references to a locality called Tripura or Tripurī is absolutely unwarranted. This ancient Tripurī is the modern Tewar near Jubbulpur in the Madhya Pradesh. The name Tripurā is undoubtedly a Sanskritized form of the tribal name Tiprā borne by the aboriginal people which inhabits the eastern fringe of South-East Bengal and to which the royal family of Tripurā belongs. The claim of the family to be descended from the lunar dynasty of epic fame may be passed over

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 331ff.

[2] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 214.

[3] See Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1394, 1588–90 for the Khaḍgas, and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221–41 for the Rātas. There is a controversy about the reading of the dates of the Ashrafpur plates of the Khaḍgas. I have absolutely no doubt that Bhandarkar's No. 1394 reads *Saṁvat 10+3 Vaiśākha-di 10+3* (cf. the symbol for 10 used in this record with that in the Midnapur plates of the time of Śaśāṅka, above, Letters, Vol. XI, Plates I and II). The speculations about the reading of this date appear to be really unwarranted and unfortunate. In my opinion, the date of Bhandarkar's No. 1590 reads *samvat 30+2 Pauṣa-di 20+5*, the symbol for 30 being written by a cursive form of the usual *la* sign.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313ff.

[5] The record is being published in this journal.

[6] Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1112; *I.H.Q*, Vol. IX, pp. 286ff.

[7] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1113. For the Mehar plate of the same king dated *Śaka* 1156 and his 4th regnal year, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182ff. Elsewhere I have explained away the use of the Śaka era in one of Madanapāla's records from South Bihar. Śaka 1059 in the Govindpur inscription (Bhandarkar, No. 1105) should be similarly explained.

[8] See Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1926, pp. 70ff.

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in silence. We know that the essentially foreign dynasty of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras [1] claimed descent from the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā and that the Dravidian Cālukyas [2] similarly claimed descent sometimes from the sun and sometimes from the moon. The descendants of the *Mleccha* (Tibeto-Burman) Sālastambha of Assam likewise claimed to be born in the family of Bhagadatta known from the *Mahābhārata*.[3] There are numerous other cases of exactly the same type.[4]

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, it has been already observed that Baḍa-Kāmatā = Baḍ-Kāmtā = Baḍ-kāntā is a village of that name near Comilla in the Tipperah district of East Bengal (East Pakistan).

On consulting one-inch-a-mile Survey of India sheet maps, I have come across the names of certain villages which remind me of some of those mentioned in the inscription. They are all situated in the neighbourhood of Barkamta (79/M/3/A, 1). Gangatiya (79/I/14/B, 2), Chhaikot (79/M/3/A, 1; or Chhaykat in 79/I/15/C, 1) and Chairpara (79/I/14/A-B, 3) of the maps may actually represent Gāṅgaṭiyārā, Chāyākoṭa and Cāripāḍā of the inscription. It is, however, difficult to say if the name of Banamalichar (79/M/3/C3; I/15/C, 1) in the same area has anything to do with the Brāhmaṇa Vanamālin who was the donee of our document.

Text [5]

1 Svasti (‖*) Candra [6]-candra-yaśo yasya tridaśair = api
2 gīyate (‖*) śrī-śrī-Vijayamāṇikya-bhu(bhū)paḥ Pā-
3 rtha-sahodaras[7] = tan-mātulānī viditā Daitya-
4 nārāyaṇa-priyā (‖ *) bhūloke kalpa-vall = īva śrī- [8]
5 matī Puṇyavatī satī (‖2 *) Tayā parama-vedaṅga(jña)-
6 m = Ācāryya(ṁ *) Vanamālinaṁ(nam‖) natvā tasmai mahīṁ datvā-
(ttā)
7 va(ba)hu-māna-puraḥsaraṁ(ram ‖3) Grāma-Gāṅgaṭiyārā-
8 Cacāmera-Chāyākoṭa-Śvadutalā(ḥ‖ *) Cāripāḍā-
9 Bharāgāṅgaco-Baḍakāmatā-sārddham = eva ca (‖4 *)[9] I-
10 māna(mān) vra(bra)hmottaratvena grāmāna(mān) datvā(ttvā) mano-
11 ramāna(mān‖) bhāvino bhūmi-pālāna[10] te vacanaṁ ve-
12 da-vihitaṁ(tam ‖ 5) ye bhaviṣyanti bhū-pālāḥ sva-vaṁ-

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[1] Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 220ff.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*), pp. 338ff.

[3] P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, Introduction, p. 19.

[4] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 11ff. For an account of the aboriginal Tiprā people, see Hunter, *Stat. Ac. Beng.*, VI, 1876, pp. 482ff.

[5] From the original plate kindly lent by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and from impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[6] The reading may possibly also be *cañc-ācandra*; but the sign looking like the *ā-mātrā* seems to me to be nothing but a scratch.

[7] Read *sahodarah* (‖ 1 *) *Tan-mātulānī*.

[8] The fourth foot of the verse has one syllable in excess. The metrical error may be rectified if we read °*vallī śrī*.°

[9] The verse has no less than six syllables in excess. As already indicated above, there is no doubt that some of the *a-kār-ānta* consonants in the names of the villages should have to be pronounced as *has-anta* in accordance with the principles of Bengali pronunciation.

[10] It is better to have *bhūmipān prati* instead of °*pālānate*.

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13 śa-paravaṁsajāś [1] = tair =eva dharmmato rakṣyeta [2] dvi-
14 j-o(t *)sṛṣṭa(ṣṭā)-vasundharā (‖6 *) tathā ca smṛtiḥ (| *) Sva-da-
15 ttāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yo hared = vai vasundharāṁ(rām |)
16 sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmi(r *) = bhūtvā pata(cya)te pitṛbhiḥ saha (‖7 *)
17 Sa(Śa)ka 1410 terikha [3] Vaisā(śā)khasya 15 pañcadasa(śa)-
18 divase Mahā-vaiśakhyāṁ [4]

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1 Read *vaṁśajāḥ* (| *) *tair = eva.*
2 Read *raksyā.*
3 This word is of Arabic origin and points to the expansion of Muslim influence in the dominions of the Tripurā kings before the date of our record.
4 Read *Vaiśākhyām* ‖

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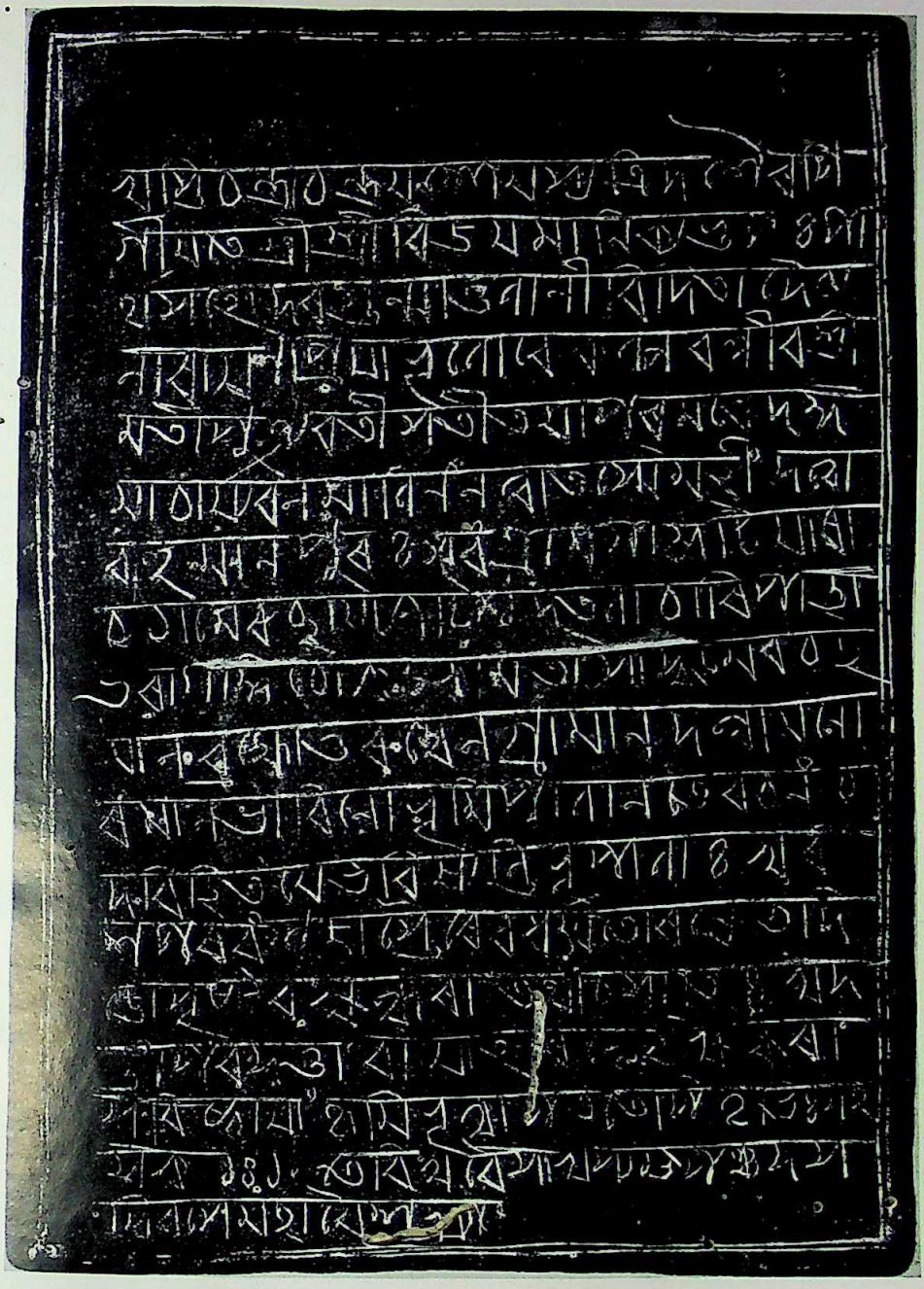

Inscription of the time of Vijayamāṇikya.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Volume XVII, No. 2, 1951.

COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KING BHAVADEVA OF DEVAPARVATA

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(*Received July 21, 1950*)

The inscription under discussion is now the property of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Some time ago I received it for examination through the kindness of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-President of the Society, Dr. N. Ray, Honorary General Secretary, and Mr. S. K. Saraswati, Librarian, to all of whom my sincere thanks are due. I am also very much thankful to the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for their generosity in allowing me to edit the inscription for the Society's *journal*.[1]

No information is available to me in regard to the findspot of the inscription under review as well as to the facts leading to its discovery. It will be seen, however, from our discussion below that the charter was issued from the ancient city of Devaparvata which lay on the southern end of the Maināmatī hills in the vicinity of Comilla, the chief town of the Tipperah district of East Bengal (East Pakistan). Another copper-plate grant, issued from the same city, was found a few years ago at a village called Kailan (or Kailain) about 18 miles south-west of Comilla.[2] These facts would suggest that the inscription under discussion was also found originally with an inhabitant of a village in the Tipperah district of East Bengal.

The inscription is written on two sides of a single copper-plate measuring about 11⅛ inches in length and about 8⅞ inches in breadth. The circular seal of brass, attached to the plate, has a rectangular projection covering a space about 3⅛ inches by 1½ inches on the top side of the plate both on the obverse and the reverse. As a result of this, the first five lines of writing on both the sides of the plate have a big gap in the middle. The seal resembles those attached to the charters of the Buddhist rulers of Eastern India belonging to the Pāla and Candra dynasties.[3] The emblems and the legend on the counter-sunk surface of the seal cover a circular space about 2¼ inches in diameter. The upper part of it contains the emblem of the sacred wheel (*dharma-cakra*) with eight spokes, flanked by two semi-reclining deers. The wheel is endowed with a pedestal below and an umbrella above. There are pennons flying towards the right and left from the staff of the umbrella and also from the necks of the deers. Below the wheel is the legend in one line which has a straight line above and below it and reads [*Śrī*]-*Abhinava*-[*mṛgāṅka*]. It is apparent that *Abhinava-mṛgāṅka* was a *viruda* of the king who was responsible for the issue of the charter under review. At the bottom of the seal there is the emblem of a full-blown lotus with a lotus bud on a curved stalk on either side. The face of the seal is encircled by a depression beyond which is a raised rim.

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[1] Cf. the introduction of my paper on the copper-plate grant of the time of king Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā published above.

[2] See my paper on the Kailan inscription published in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221–41.

[3] The Buddhist Khaḍgas had, however, a bull emblem while the Buddhist Kāntideva had a lion emblem.

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This rim is surrounded by a circle of balls while the line of balls is encircled by another rim. This outer rim was originally endowed with several projections resembling *chaṭā* or rays usually found on the border of metallic plaques containing images;[1] but some of them have broken away. The weight of the plate with the seal is 210 *tolās*.

The preservation of the plate is unsatisfactory. The writing on both of its sides has suffered considerably from the effects of corrosion. This has resulted in the effacement of a large number of letters. It has also rendered the decipherment of a still larger number of letters and passages, though not completely effaced, extremely difficult. There are altogether 64 lines of writing, 34 on the obverse and 30 on the reverse of the plate. About half of these lines have only been partially deciphered. Repeated further attempts of course may lead to the satisfactory decipherment of some more passages of the inscription. But considering the fact that what has been read by me offers very valuable historical information, I think it necessary in the interest of Indian historical studies to place my transcript of the inscription as well as my observations on it before scholars without delay. It is the experience of all epigraphists that a damaged record of this kind cannot be read all at once. The reading of a damaged word that baffles the decipherer for fifty times may occur to him in his fifty-first attempt. Moreover, the correct reading of such a word may not occur to one but may come to someone else. I, therefore, consider it wise to publish the inscription so that other scholars may try their hands on the facsimile and improve upon my transcript.

The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the eighth or ninth century A.D. A careful comparison of the characters with those employed in the Tipperah plate of Lokanātha, dated in the Gupta year 344 (A.D. 664),[2] the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta (third quarter of the seventh century)[3] as well as in the inscriptions of the Khaḍga kings[4] and of Dharmapāla (*circa* 770–815 A.D.)[5] and his immediate successors appears to suggest that our inscription may be assigned to a date later than that of Lokanātha, Śrīdhāraṇarāta and the Khaḍga kings Devakhaḍga and Rājarāja, all of whom flourished in the latter half of the seventh century, and that its date falls about the age of the early Pālas. *B* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The forms of *ṇ* and *t* in our record appear to point to a date earlier than that of the Badal pillar inscription[6] of Nārāyaṇapāla (*circa* 857–911 A.D.). The usual form of the *anusvāra*, indicated by a dot above the consonant, has been used generally in our record; but its Bengali form consisting of the globular mark put above the slanting *daṇḍa* to the right of the consonant, found in such records as the Bodhgayā inscription of Dharmapāla and the Monghyr plate of Devapāla,[7] may be compared with the *anusvāra* in words like *śobhaṁ* (line 21)

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[1] See, e.g., *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, Plates LXXI, LXXIII, LXXIV, etc.; Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Plates XVIII, XXIX, LXVII, LXX.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 306ff. and plates; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224.

[3] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff. and plates.

[4] See the Ashrafpur plates of Devakhaḍga, *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, pp. 85–91 and Plate; *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1885, pp. 49–52 and plate.

[5] See the Khalimpur plate, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIII, Plate III. For the Bodhgayā inscription, see *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā*, plate facing p. 29. These inscriptions may be assigned to *circa* 800 A.D.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 161ff. and plate.

[7] See *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā*, plate facing p. 29 (cf. *satāṁ* or *satām* in line 6 of the text); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 306 (*rājyaṁ* in line 51 of the text).

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and *dvayaṁ* (line 57) in the inscription under review. In some of these cases, the *anusvāra* resembles the half *m*, the sign for which was undoubtedly the origin of the Bengali form of the *anusvāra*. The form of *rth*, which is identical with the same *akṣara* found in the Ashrafpur plates[1] and later records, may be compared with *th* in the Kuṇḍeśvar inscription (661 A.D.)[2] of Aparājitā. The usual form of the medial *ā* is the *daṇḍa* put at the right of the consonant; but in some cases it is earlier, i.e. a short stroke put above the consonant towards the right (cf. °*ujjahāra* in line 6). The numerical figures for 1, 2 and 8 occur in the inscription. The number 18 is not written with the symbol for 10 and this points to a date later than the seventh century when the decimal system of writing numbers did not become popular in Bengal. In connection with the palaeography of the present inscription it is also necessary to discuss the views of a recent writer on the gradual development of the letter *ś* in East Indian epigraphs. Mr. S. N. Chakravarti in his dissertation entitled 'Development of the Bengali Alphabet'[3] classifies the transitional forms of *ś*, standing midway between its earlier looped form and its later form with two semi-circles at the top, into five groups, viz., (*a*) in which the loop has not yet opened at the bottom; (*b*) in which the upper part of the letter is detached from the vertical straight line to the right; (*c*) in which the loop is detached from the vertical straight line to the right; (*d*) in which the loop has opened at the bottom and the cross-bar lingers; and (*e*) in which the lingering cross-bar touches the upper end of the vertical straight line to the right. In spite of such facts, observed by Mr. Chakravarti himself in this connection, as that the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena (third quarter of the seventh century) shows the looped and the first transitional forms while the Shahpur image inscription of the same reign shows the fifth transitional form, the learned writer concludes that 'the looped form of *ś* was commonly used, though the tendency towards displacement of this form by the transitional ones was already in evidence', during the period between the age of Ādityasena and that of Devapāla, (*circa* 815–54 A.D.). Mr. Chakravarti next points out that the Ashrafpur plates of Devakhaḍga shows *ś* (1) of the looped form, (2) of the first transitional form, and (3) of the fourth transitional form which occurs in most cases, and that the Duelbārī inscription of Devakhaḍga's queen shows the fourth transitional form in all cases. This leads him to conclude that the Khaḍgas flourished after Devapāla, i.e., after the middle of the ninth century, although he ignores the fact that the Khaḍga records use numerical symbols instead of numerical figures which are found in the Pāla inscriptions and suggest a later date for the latter. The inscription under review employs those forms of *ś* which have been characterized by Mr. Chakravarti as its third and fourth transitional forms. Consequently, if his theory is to be accepted, the present inscription has also to be assigned to a date later than the middle of the ninth century. In my paper on the Kailan copper-plate inscription published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff., I have fully discussed the problem of Khaḍga chronology and have assigned the Khaḍga king Devakhaḍga and his son Rājarāja to the latter half of the seventh century. It may now be pointed out that the very basis of Mr. Chakravarti's theory, which follows the views of R. D. Banerji, falls to the ground if the forms of *ś* used in the said Kailan inscription of Śrīdhāraṇarāta, whose

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[1] It should be noticed that the representation of *rth* as found in the Ashrafpur plates in *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, Vol. IV, p. 371 (column V, figure 2) is misleading.
[2] See Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Hindi), Plate XX.
[3] *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, Vol. IV, 1938, pp. 361ff.

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father Jīvadhāraṇarāta was a contemporary of *Sāmanta* Lokanātha of the Tipperah plate dated A.D. 664, are taken into consideration. This inscription belonging to the second half of the seventh century employs in most cases that type of *ś* which is characterized by Mr. Chakravarti as its fourth transitional form. There is thus absolutely no reason to ascribe the inscriptions of the Khadgas and the epigraph under review definitely to a date later than the middle of the ninth century only because they employ the transitional form of *ś* in most of the cases. But, as will be seen below from our discussion on the internal evidence of this inscription, we are not quite decided as to whether the king who issued the charter under discussion should be definitely assigned to the eighth or the ninth century, that is to say, before Dharmapāla or after Devapāla, although the early forms of medial *ā* (cf. the short form of medial *i* also), *ṇ* and *t* seem to support the first alternative. Note also the open-top forms of *p*, *s*, etc.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written both in prose and verse. In point of orthography, the inscription closely resembles other records of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries discovered in Bengal and its neighbourhood, and little calls for special mention. Final *ṁ* is sometimes wrongly changed to the *anusvāra* (cf. *śrīmāṁ* in lines 43, 55; *patīṁ* in line 44). In words like °*hansa* (line 38) and °*dhvansa* (line 46) *n* has similarly been wrongly used instead of the *anusvāra*. The *sandhi* in cases like °*bhis* = *sarvvai*° in line 60 and *dattām* = *vā* in line 63 are interesting to note. There is a case of Prakritism in the word *Vaisāgha* for *Vaiśākha* in the date of the document in the last line.

The record is dated not according to any era but in the second regnal year of the king who issued the charter. The actual date is given as the 18th day of apparently the solar month of Vaiśākha. The date is not verifiable and the day on which the charter was issued cannot be determined.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Verses 1-2 describe a king named Vīradeva. The first half of verse 1 seems to refer to his obtaining *bhūm-īśvaratva* (i.e. kingship), while the second half of the verse says how the king extirpated his enemies as the sun dissolves darkness and how he resembled the Jina-muni Dharmarāja, i.e. the Buddha, in *nyāy-ājīva*, 'the profession of righteousness'. It seems that Vīradeva was the first king of his line. Verse 2 describes how king Vīradeva resembled Acyuta, i.e. Viṣṇu, in the matter of subduing mighty foes. Verse 3 introduces king Vīradeva's son, Ānandadeva. Verses 4-5 describe the achievements of king Ānandadeva, while the next verse (verse 6) introduces his queen whose name is uncertain but may be Śyāmāṅgadevī. The next 10 verses (verses 7–16) appear to describe the achievements of king Bhavadeva, son and successor of Ānandadeva. The name of Bhavadeva actually occurs in verses 8 and 11. Many of the passages in the stanzas describing kings Ānandadeva and Bhavadeva cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. The portions of the verses that have been read, however, do not offer any details of historical importance. The 16 introductory verses are followed by a long prose passage in lines 28–44. The charter was issued from the *skandhāvāra* of Devaparvata mentioned in line 42 and it is preceded by a number of descriptive epithets in lines 28–42. The word *skandhāvāra* has ordinarily the sense of 'a camp'; but, according to medieval lexicons it also means 'a city' or 'a capital'.[1] It may be suggested that Devaparvata was the capital of the ruling family in question. In an earlier epoch, the Rāta kings of Samataṭa (the Tipperah-Noakhali region of South-East Bengal, now in East Pakistan) probably

[1] Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 47-48 [2] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 225.

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had their capital at the same city.[2] The description of Devaparvata reminds us of a similar description of the city in the Kailan inscription of Śrīdhāraṇarāta, king of Samataṭa. It may, however, be pointed out that the description of Devaparvata in the Kailan inscription is much shorter than that found in the present inscription and that this may be regarded as an additional argument in favour of the lateness of the document under review.[1] It is also interesting to note that the Kṣīrodā that encircled the city of Devaparvata according to the Kailan inscription is also mentioned in our record as the holy river Kṣīrodā on the banks of which the city stood. In regard to the location of Devaparvata, we have elsewhere[2] said, 'the river Ksīrodā is the modern Khīrā or Khīrnai, a dried up river course still traceable as branching off from the Gomatī just west of the town of Comilla (chief town of the Tipperah district of East Bengal). It flows by the eastern side of the Maināmatī hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Caṇḍīmuṛā peak, where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hill. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Maināmatī hills, where the ancient hill-fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Ḍākātiā river.'

An interesting passage describing the city of Devaparvata refers, in line 33, to *Abhinava-mṛgāṅka* which, as suggested by the legend *śrī-Abhinava-mṛgāṅka* on the seal attached to the plate, was apparently a *viruda* of king Bhavadeva who was responsible for the issue of the charter in question. Immediately after the reference to the city of Devaparvata, from which the charter was issued, the inscription mentions its issuer, king Bhavadeva. The king is described as a *Parama-saugata* (i.e., a devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) and is endowed with the imperial titles *Parameśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. He is also said to have meditated on (or to have been favoured by) the feet of *Mahārājādhirāja* Ānandadeva who was his father and predecessor. King Bhavadeva's order in respect of the grant in question was addressed to the *viṣaya-patis* (rulers of districts) and others belonging to the *viṣaya* (district) of Peranāṭana. The name of this place also occurs in the Ashrafpur plates[3], although G. M. Laskar could not read the name satisfactorily.

The details of the grant are now introduced with the usual passage *viditam = astu bhavatām*. This prose passage is followed by 6 verses (verses 17–22) describing the applicant and the *dūtaka*. In copper-plate grants, such informations are usually given in prose; but the method followed in the present record is also not entirely unknown in East Indian epigraphy.[4] Verse 17 introduces the grandfather of the applicant, whose name cannot be read, while the next verse (verse 18) mentions the applicant's father, Ādityadāsa. Verse 19 mentions the applicant's mother and the next verse (verse 20) the applicant whose name was Vibhūtidāsa.[5] Verse 21 seems to suggest that Vibhūtidāsa was an official of the king who had great confidence in the former. There is a small prose passage between verses 21 and 22. Verse 22, together with the preceding prose passage, appears to say how Vibhūtidāsa approached *Mahā-sāmanta* Nandadhara with a request to submit his prayer to the king. Vibhūtidāsa thus seems to have requested the king to be gracious enough to grant some land in favour of a Buddhist

[1] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 237, text, lines 2-3. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-26.
[3] *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 90, line 6 of the text of A and lines 12-13 of B.
[4] Cf., e.g., the early records of Assam such as the Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarman and the Nowgong plates of Balavarman (*Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 64; 78-79).
[5] His position in respect of the grant was similar to that of Jayanātha of the Kailan plates. See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235.

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religious establishment. Then follows a prose passage (lines 21ff.) which says that the king (Bhavadeva) was requested by *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nandadhara to make a grant of 7½ *pāṭakas* of land in favour of the *ratna-traya* of the Veṇḍamatī-vihārikā. It may be pointed out that the expression *mahā-sāmant-ādhipati* indicated a feudatory of the foremost rank. The expression *ratna-traya*, which occurs in several other inscriptions,[1] indicates the Buddhist trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha worshipped in a Buddhist religious establishment. The expression *Veṇḍamatī-vihārikā* probably means the Buddhist monastery situated in a locality called Veṇḍamatī which, it may be noticed, is also separately mentioned in our record. The 7½ *pāṭakas* of land to be granted in favour of the *ratna-traya* lay in four different plots, the first of which covering 2½ *pāṭakas* is said to have been situated at Vāhaka-khaṇḍa in Veṇḍamatī within the Peranāṭana *viṣaya*. The other three plots, apparently in the same *viṣaya*, were the following: (1) one *pāṭaka* of land at Ekkarakoṭṭa; (2) two *pāṭakas* at Mañjikkakoraka; and (3) two *pāṭakas* at Koḍḍāvāra. Lines 59-60 appear to say that the request was to make the granted land an *udraṅga* and that the land was granted together with *udraṅga*. If the expressions *udraṅgī-kṛtya* and *s-odraṅgīkṛtya* are not used synonymously, the word *udraṅga* in the two expressions may be regarded to have different meanings. The word *s-odraṅga* is often found in copper-plate grants as a qualifying epithet of the gift land. *Udraṅga* is recognized by Śāśvata as an equivalent of *uddhāra* and *udgrantha* and is tentatively taken to mean a tax on permanent tenants.[2] It is also often associated with Marāṭhī *udhār-jamābandī* meaning the assessment of the total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor who is entitled to distribute the proportions. The expression *udraṅgīkṛtya* as opposed to *s-odraṅgīkṛtya* in our inscription may mean 'by setting [the land] apart'.[3] The same lines also say how the grant was made by registering the land in a copper-plate charter (*tāmra-śāsane samāropya*) according to the application referred to above. Then follows the king's entreaty to the future rulers who had to protect the grant as the merit of the grant was expected not only to go to the grantor but also to fall to the shares of persons who may be in possession of the country in succeeding ages. This is followed by the well-known benedictory and imprecatory verses beginning with *iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-lolāṁ*, etc., and *bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc. The last line of the inscription gives the date discussed above and also the name of Brahmadāsa, who was the engraver of the plate.

The known facts of East Indian history appear to suggest that the kings mentioned in our record should be assigned roughly either to the first half of the eighth century or to the second half of the ninth. We have elsewhere seen[4] how the Chaḍgas of Vaṅga (with their headquarters somewhere in the present Dacca district) and the Rātas of Samataṭa (with their headquarters at Devaparvata in the Tipperah district) originally owed allegiance to the king of Gauḍa and how they began to rule semi-independently after the king of Gauḍa (a successor of the celebrated Śaśāṅka) had been temporarily subdued in the second quarter of the seventh century by kings Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. It has also been shown with the help of the Tipperah plate, dated A.D. 664,

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[1] Cf. the Ashrafpur plate (B), line 7; see also *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235.
[2] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 371, note 5.
[3] Cf. *uddhāra* in the *Manusmṛti*, IX, 112; also Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v. *uddhāra*.
[4] See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 228-33.

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how Lokanātha, a loyal subordinate of the imperial ruler of Gauḍa, was sent against Jīvadhāraṇarāta of Samataṭa and how the former could not completely subjugate the latter. Jīvadhāraṇarāta was succeeded on the throne of Samataṭa by his son Śrīdhāraṇarāta whose Kailan inscription is dated in his eighth regnal year. Shortly after the date of this record, the heart of Samataṭa seems to have been occupied by the Khaḍga king Devakhaḍga, originally of Vaṅga. In the last quarter of the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing found Samataṭa under the rule of Rājabhaṭa who is usually identified by scholars with Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa, son and successor of Devakhaḍga. The evidence of the inscription under review may show that the Khaḍgas could not retain their hold on the heart of the Samataṭa country for a long time and that they were driven out by the ruling family mentioned in the present record sometime about the beginning of the eighth century. Not long afterwards, as we have suggested in another connection,[1] the Khaḍga power in Vaṅga collapsed as a result of an invasion led by king Yaśovarman of Kanauj in the second quarter of the same century, paving the way for the establishment of the power of Gopāla, founder of the celebrated Pāla ruling family, in Vaṅga, sometime about the middle of the eighth century. It is not definitely known when exactly the Samataṭa country was annexed to the waxing empire of the Pālas. But the possibility is that Samataṭa was conquered by Gopāla.[2] We have also seen[3] how the Pālas flourished first in Vaṅga. It is now the general belief among scholars that Gopāla, the progenitor of the Pāla dynasty, 'consolidated his authority over the whole of Bengal... it is difficult to believe that his son and successor Dharmapāla could carry on victorious campaigns up to the Punjab, unless he had inherited from his father at least the consolidated kingdom of Bengal.'[4] According to Tibetan traditions, Gopāla's dominions included Magadha or South Bihar.[5] As according to the same traditions, Gopāla was originally the king of the Bhaṅgala country, no doubt indicating Vaṅga under the influence of the later name Vaṅgāla, it may be suggested that it was he who conquered the neighbouring land of Samataṭa. Thus it may be supposed that not long after the rule of Bhavadeva, who issued the charter under discussion, the rule of the dynasty to which he belonged came to an end and the Samataṭa country passed to the Pālas.

A king of South-East Bengal, named Kāntideva, is known from the Chittagong plate,[6] which has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the eighth or ninth century A.D. The charter that would have been written in this incomplete inscription was to be issued from the city of Vardhamānapura and to be addressed to the future rulers of the Harikelā *maṇḍala* (district). As suggested by Keśava's *Kalpadrukośa*,[7] Harikeli (apparently the same as Harikelā) was the name of Śrīhaṭṭa, i.e. modern Sylhet, although as suggested by Hemacandra,[8] Harikeli later came to indicate Vaṅga, apparently as a result of the expansion of the Harikelā

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[1] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 409.

[2] The fantastic theory that the Tipperah district in Samataṭa did not form parts of the Pāla empire (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 179 ff.) has been conclusively disproved by the recently discovered Mandhuk (Tipperah district) inscription of Gopāla II. See *V.R.S. Mon.*, No. 8, pp. 4ff.

[3] *New Ind. Ant.* (E. Denison Ross, Vol.), p. 383; *Proc. I.H.C.*, Allahabad, 1938, p. 194; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 409.

[4] R. C. Majumdar in *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 102.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313–18.

[7] I, 26: *Śrīhaṭṭo Harikeliḥ syāc=Chrīhaṭo=pi kvacid=bhavet.*

[8] *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, verse 957: *Vaṅgās=tu Harikelayaḥ.*

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kingdom under its vigorous rulers. There is no doubt that Vardhamānapura, which was probably the capital of Kāntideva, was situated somewhere in eastern or south-eastern Bengal, although it is sometimes suggested, without any justification whatsoever, that it is no other than the present Burdwan in South-West Bengal. King Kāntideva was a *Parama-saugata* (i.e. a Buddhist) and his grandfather Bhadradatta is also said to have been devoted to the Jinendra (Buddha); but Kāntideva's father Dhanadatta was a Brahmanical Hindu.[1] This is an additional argument in favour of the suggestion that, about the period in question, there was hardly any great social distinction between the lay followers of the Buddhistic and Brāhmanical faiths. Kāntideva assumed the imperial titles *Parameśvara* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, and his mother Vindurati is said to have been the daughter of a great king; but, as has been suggested by Dr. Majumdar, 'neither the father nor the grandfather of Kāntideva was a king, and he must have inherited his throne from his maternal grandfather or carved out an independent kingdom for himself.'[2] It is tempting to identify Kāntideva's maternal grandfather with Bhavadeva of the inscription under discussion or with one of the latter's immediate successors and to suggest that Kāntideva belonged originally to a petty ruling family of the Sylhet region (Harikelā) but that he inherited a big kingdom in south-east Bengal as an heir to his maternal grandfather who was a ruler of Samataṭa. But the issue of Kāntideva's charter from Vardhamānapura (possibly in the Harikelā or Sylhet region) may suggest that the heart of the Samataṭa country together with Devaparvata was already in the hands of the Pālas during Kāntideva's rule. It may also be suggested that Kāntideva ruled from the capital of his paternal state in the Sylhet region without transferring it to Devaparvata.

As an alternative to the above arrangement of facts, it may be also suggested that the collapse of the Pāla power after Devapāla in the second half of the ninth century, caused by the Pratīhāra invasions, gave opportunity to the kings of Devaparvata mentioned in our inscription to carve out an independent kingdom in eastern and south-eastern Bengal.[3] If this view is to be accepted, we may suggest that Vīradeva was originally a feudatory of the Pālas but raised his head against his overlord sometime in the third quarter of the ninth century. After the rule of his grandson Bhavadeva who issued the charter under discussion, the dominions passed to Kāntideva about the end of the same century. I have elsewhere[4] discussed the history of the Candras of Rohitāgiri who established themselves in Candradvīpa (i.e. Bāklā-Candradvīpa) in the Buckerganj region of southern Bengal. The first important ruler of this family was Trailokyacandra who flourished about the middle of the tenth century and claimed to be the mainstay of the fortunes of the king of Harikela, that is to say, a feudatory of the Harikela (the same as Harikelā or Harikeli) king.[5] It is now possible to suggest that Trailokyacandra was the feudatory of the dynasty of Harikela kings represented by Kāntideva. Whether this overlord was Kāntideva himself or one of his immediate successors cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is, however, well-known that Trailokyacandra's son, *Parameśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*

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[1] He is usually but wrongly believed to have been a Buddhist.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 315.
[3] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 316.
[4] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 410ff.
[5] Trailōkyacandra's description as *ādhāro Harikela-rāja-kakuda-cchatra-smitānāṁ śriyāṁ* may be compared with *Veṅgī-Cālukya-rājya-mūla-stambha*, an epithet of the Paricchedin feudatories of the Eastern Cālukyas. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 985, 1127; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 224; *A.R.E.*, 1921, Part II, para. 59; *J.O.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 131.

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Mahārājādhirāja Śrīcandra, ruled over wide regions of East Bengal including the Vikramapura region (Dacca district) as an independent ruler. A successor of Śrīcandra is known to have ruled also over the Tipperah district. Thus the Harikela kingdom possibly including both Vaṅga and Samataṭa or at least the major part of it passed to the Candras. The expansion of the Harikela kingdom so as to include Vaṅga gave rise to the theory identifying the Vaṅga and Harikela countries, although as indicated above they appear to have originally indicated different tracts of land. As we have suggested elsewhere[1], with the expansion of Candra power from Candradvīpa, otherwise called Vaṅgāla, over wide regions of eastern and south-eastern Bengal, the name Vaṅgāla similarly came to be used synonymously with Vaṅga.

In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine as to which of the alternate arrangements of facts discussed above should be preferred. We have to wait for further discoveries that may throw additional light on the problem. The first alternative, however, seems to be supported by the palaeography of the epigraph under discussion.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already discussed the location of Devaparvata. The identification of the river Kṣīrodā, on which Devaparvata was situated, has also been discussed. The name of the *viṣaya* called Peranāṭana, which occurs as well in the Ashrafpur inscriptions, may be compared with that of the Guptīnāṭana *viṣaya* in Samataṭa, mentioned in the Kailan inscription. The district of Peranāṭana must have been situated in the present Tipperah-Noakhali region of East Bengal, although its exact location is uncertain. I have not been able to locate the places called Veṇḍamatī, Vāhaka-khaṇḍa in Veṇḍamatī, Ekkarakoṭṭa, Mañjikkakoraka and Koḍḍāvāra. It seems that Veṇḍamatī was a subdivision of the Peranāṭana *viṣaya* and that its headquarters were situated in a locality of the same name. While the monastery called Veṇḍamatī-vihārikā lay in the headquarters, the localities called Vāhaka-khaṇḍa, Ekkarakoṭṭa, Mañjikkakoraka and Koḍḍāvāra were possibly villages belonging to the subdivision, although they may not have been far off from the monastery to which they were allotted by the charter under discussion. It is however not impossible that the passage *Peranāṭana-viṣaye Veṇḍamatyāṁ Vāhaka-khaṇḍe* is a mistake for *Peranāṭana-viṣaye Vāhaka-khaṇḍe Veṇḍamatyāṁ*. In that case, Veṇḍamatī as well as Ekkarakoṭṭa, Mañjikkakoraka and Koḍḍāvāra were villages in the Vāhaka subdivision (*khaṇḍa*) of the Peranāṭana district.

Text [2]

Obverse

1 [Siddham ‖][3] Svasti (‖*) Dān-ādy-abhyāsa-sātmībhavana-bhara-bha-
vad-bhūri-pūr[ṇṇa]-
2 pravāha-prāpi-prā [jya-prajā-pra]sphuṭa-[ghaṭa]-ghaṭan-āvāpta-bhūm-
īśva[ratvaḥ ‖]
3 mo[hāt=saṅka]lpa-jāl-olvaṇa-ripu-t[i]mir-onmūlane tigma-tejā nyāy-ā-
4 jīvāt=sa pūjyo jagati Jina-[mu]nir=Dharma-rājo jigīshuḥ ‖(1*)[4]
[Vairi]-

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[1] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 408; *Bhār. Vid.*, Miscellany, 1945, pp. 34ff.

[2] From the original plate kindly lent by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Metre: *Śrāgdharā*.

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5 kshīr-āv[bh]lhi(bdhi)m=udyat-prava(ba)la-va(ba)la-va[lan-Mandara]-kṣm-
ādhara[ṇa] pr[ɔ]nmathy=oddāma-da-
6 rpa-prasara-phaṇi-phaṇ-ābhoga-sandāni[tām tām|] yo Lakṣmīm=ujja-
hāra sva-pada-guru-va(ba)l-ākrānta-dik-cakravālaḥ śrīmān=
nirvyāja-[śūro]
7 va(ba)li-ripu-damanād=Acyuto Vīradevaḥ ‖ (2*)[1] Tasy=ātma[jaḥ]
sāmara-doha[da]-durnivāra-dorddaṇḍa-[bhīma *]-yama-daṇḍa-nipā-
ta-bhītam (|*) ā-
8 kramya cakram=akhilam=ga (m=ba) linām nṛpā[ṇā]m=Ānandadeva
iti yaḥ kṣitip-ādhipo=bhūt ‖(3*)[2] kṛtvā Laṁkā-pathaṁ pattri-
gati-jayi (U*) tāy=āja-
9 gām=aiva Rāma———— payodhāv=iti ha vikathayan=lā(yā-
l=lā)ghavaṁ Rāghavasya(|*) [a]nyony-āśliṣṭa-n[au]kā-ghana-
ghaṭita-ghaṭā-koṭi-
10 saṁghaṭṭa-ruddhaṁ———U m=eva kṣiti-talam=asakṛid=
dhelayā [ya]ś=cakāra ‖(4*)[3] Anyony-āghāti-khaḍga-jvalad-anala-
bhavām=āhave
11 yasya vā(bā)hor=durvārāṁ ka U——UUU-parikaraiḥ śīkarai-
[r=vā]raṇā[nā]m(|*) klānti— śāntim=ārād=anayad=aviraṃal-
locan-ā-
12 [mbho]-dharā— ———U——śamita-ripu-vadhū-dīrgha-niḥśāsa-
vāta(ḥ*) ‖ (5*)[4] Tasy=āsīt=sura-patnī-guru-guṇa-garim-odgīta-
gau-
13 rī ××× (|*) × māṅgadevī.....(‖6*)[5] ..... śrayati vilasan-
mauli-
14 māṇikya-māla-rochī..... (‖7*)[6] ———UU—U—U
15 UU———U——U— ————UU—U—UUU———U——
U— (|*) ———UU—U—UUU———
16 [sa]mā[n-ānva]yā-yukta[ḥ] śrī-Bhavadeva —UUU———U——
U—(‖8*)[7]———UU— U—UUU— loke pa-
17 rāga-sthitāḥ prem-āva(ba)ndha U—U—UUU———U——
U— (|*) ———U san-āhareṇa va(ba)hul-āmodena ye-
18 na dviṣām=ākṛṣṭā kamal=āsi-le[kha]-viṣayāc=cetaḥ sudūrīkṛ[tam]
‖(9*)[8] ××××××[śreṣṭho] doṣṇā Viṣṇur=dadhe dharām(|*)
tām=e-
19 va yaḥ prasaktāṁ kṣmāṁ vibhartti dharaṇī-[dharaḥ] ‖ (10*)[9]
viśvāsaṁ guṇa-sampadā jagati ———U——U— ———UU
— s=sa eva mudita[s=trai]lo-
20 kya-lakṣmyā U— (|*) ———U U— U—UUU ———U
—— chiraṁ śrīmāṁs = [tvaṁ] Bhavadeva me patir=iti [premṇā]
śriyā yo
21 vṛtaḥ ‖(11*)[10] ——U— UUU—UU—U—— ——U—UUU
— lin-āsya-śobhaṁ(kṣam|) yudhy-uddhṛt-āsi-
22 UU—UU garbha-guptaṁ yasyām=anitya-vimukhaṁ prati-vimva-
(mba)m=eva ‖ (12*)[11] Līl-olvaṇ-ālaka-latā-vilasal-lalāṭa-lekha U
23 —UUU—UU kh-āval=īva (|*)——U—UUU—UU—U——
——U bhūpa-vanitā hṛdaye vilagnā ‖ (13*)[12] Lakṣmī-lī-

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[1] Metre: *Sragdharā.*
[2] Metre: *Vasantatilaka.*
[3] Metre: *Sragdharā.*
[4] Metre: *Sragdharā.*
[5] Metre: possibly *Āryā.*
[6] Metre: possibly *Āryā.*
[7] Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[8] Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[9] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh.*
[10] Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[11] Metre: *Vasantatilaka.*
[12] Metre: *Vasantatilaka.*

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24 [lā]U — — U U U U U U — — U — — U — — . — — — — U — —
U U r=api payasām=arthi-tṛṣṇ-āpahāre (|*) darvār-ā
25 rāti-lakṣmī-haṭha-haraṇa-saho yasya vā(bā)huḥ U — — — — — —
U — — raṇa-śirasi jaya-śrī-niketasya bhūṣi(mi)ḥ ‖ (14*)[1] Ni-
26 [rjitya kṣi]tipāla-cakram=akhilaṁ — — U — — U — — — — — U U —
U — U U U — svīkurvatā dūrataḥ (|*) — —
27 — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U — loke vaktūm=iva
bhramaty=aviratam kīrttir=mahīṁ ya[sya ca] ‖ (15*)[2] × × × na-
28 ta-durvvāra-sarvv-ōrvī-nāyakā × × (|*) × × × kul-ābhimataḥ su-
phalā api niṣphalāḥ ‖ (16*)[3] × × × × × × × ma[ṇi-ma]-
29 ṇḍit-ākhaṇḍala-para-mahā-mahimnaḥ ucc-ācala-cūḍā-cumvi(mbi)-
hima-ruci-vimva(mba)-cāru-caitya-caya-nāvi × × × × ×
30 mapāśana-vartmanaḥ java-vijita-saptasapti-sapti-vāji-vraja-khalan-
ācaraṇa-koṭi-[mārga]-mallana-samucchala-
31 d-acchetara-rajaḥ-paṭala-pihita-sakala-kakubho = py = a-janita-rajo-
vikārāt dīrgha-nirghāta-nirghoṣa-
32 ghora-gaja-garjjit-ākarṇṇan-otkarṇṇa-[tūrṇṇa]-kampit-āpara-kari-kara-
par-āghāta-sva(su)puṭita-bhū-bhāgād=apy=a-nibhāt ku-
33 mud-ākarād=iv=Ābhinavamṛgāṅka-janita-kānti-santateḥ jaladher=
iva vilāsinī-racita-śobhāt asi-visar-āva-
34 [sara] . . . . vāla-lagna-ghana-dinakara-kara-nikara-ṣ hatita-vikaṭa-kaṅ-
kaṭ-oraḥ-kavāṭa-paṭa × × ×

Reverse

35 × × saṅkaṭīkṛta-rājadvār-ājirāt aneka-kaṭak-ā. . . .
36 × kāha-masikā-vāhanikā-pūgaḍa-ṭake-[4] [nipānayā vilo]-la-samu[lla]-
37 sad-va(d-ba)hala-jala-lava-dhavala-vilāsa-vāsasā va(ba)hala-jala-pūri-
38 t-ālavālikā-vipula-pulin-āsīna-sita-kalahansa(haṁsa)-kula-kṛta-
39 kolāhala-vācālit-obhaya-kulayā phaṇi-maṇi-kiraṇa-visa-
40 ra-vibhāsita-sakala-salilay=āpi ghana-timira-ca[ñcat]-tarat-taraṅ-
gayā śasi(śi)-kara-śiśira-rī(nī)ray=āpi sad-ānugat-āhi-
41 makara-pāda-nikarayā Kṣīrod-ābhidhānayā puṇya-nadyā sanāthi-
kṛtāt satat-ābhivarddhamāna-prabhūta-bhūti-
42 sambhārāt Devaparvvat-āvasthita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt para-
[ma-sau]gato mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Ānandade-
43 va-pādānudhyātaḥ parameśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājā-
[dhi]rājaḥ [śrī]mām(mān) Bhavadevaḥ kuśalī ‖ Peranāṭana-
44 viṣaye yathākāla-bhāvi-vishayapatīṁ(tīn) karaṇika-[daśa]grāmi-[kān]
=samājñāpayati | viditam=astu bhavatām
45 Śrī — U dāsa U yo iti — U ra-durga-pāla-lavdha(bdha)-prasādā-sara-
na U r=va(r=ba)bhūva (|*) khyāto=khile jagati candana-kunda-
candra-[śa]-
46 [ṅkh]-āvadāta-[yaśasā] U U — U — — ‖ (17*)[5] — — — viśva-
mitra[s=sa] mara-hita-karo dhvānta-vidhvansa(dhvaṁsa)-sādhvī
śakti — — U
47 — — U U U U U U — — U — — !! — śrī(ḥ| *) śrīm[ān=Ā]-
dityadāso vivu(bu)dha-patha-gati(ḥ*) puṇya-sūrya(ḥ*) stuto=
bhūt=tasmād=i[ty=e]-

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[1] Metre: *Sragdharā*. [2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[3] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.
[4] The passage seems to give the names of certain pools associated with the Kṣīrodā river.
[5] Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

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48 vam=ātmnā śubha U U U U —— U [n-ā]dīpta-de[vaḥ] ‖
(18 *)[1] Iṣṭ=āsīt=tasya jāyā sīdajasya rigij=eva vā bhūri
sac-chakti-
49 mattva ..... (‖ 19 *)[2] ——— parameśvareṇa satataṁ-
yaḥ svīkṛtaḥ s-ādaraṁ s-āṅgaṁ yasya sad=ecchay[ā] su-
50 kṛtino [va(ba)ndheshu yaḥ] tanvā(nva)te (|*) ——— U U — U —
U U U śen=occhaiḥ kulaṁ bhūṣitaṁ khyāto bhūri Vibhūtidāsa iti
51 sat-putro=sya tasyām=abhūt [‖] (20 *)[3] ——— U ——
U U kula-vanitā bhūṣaṇaṁ bhū-stupā(tā) yā gotraṁ sattvasya
nityaṁ nidhir=a-
52 dhika-dhiyas=tyāgi-va(ba)ndhuḥ[4] U —— (|*) ———
U —— U U U U U U —— U —— U dhāmnā sammānasy=
āpi dhāma dhruva-
53 m=avani-bhujo bhūri-viśvāsa-pātram [‖] (21 *)[5] .....
Vibhūtidāsena[6] hast-odasta-kṛpāṇa-pāta-
54 na-dalad-vair-ībha-kumbha-skhalad-ga —— U U — U — U U
U ——— U — kṣmā-talaḥ| tyāgi(gī) satya-niketano guru
55 mahāsāmanta-nā[tha]ḥ kṛtī śrīmāṁ(mān) Nandadharo U — U U U —
—— svayaṁ [dū]takaḥ ‖ (22 *)[7] evaṁvidha-dūtaka-ma-
56 hāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Nandadhara-mukhena vayaṁ [vijñāpitāḥ]
[Peranāṭana-viṣa]ye Veṇḍamatyāṁ Vāhaka-
57 khaṇḍe arddha-tṛti(tī)ya-pāṭakāḥ Ekkarakoṭṭe=pi pāṭakaḥ Ma-
[ñjikkakorake=pi] pāṭaka-dvayaṁ Koḍḍā-
58 vāre=pi pāṭaka-dvayam ete arddh-āṣṭama-pāṭakāḥ [tāmra-śāsane
samāropya] Veṇḍamatī-vihāri-
59 kāyāṁ Ratna-traye pratipādayitum=udraṅgīkṛtya māṁ prasādī...
ravyasya[8] vijñaptyā tāmvra(mra)-śā-
60 sane samāropya s-odraṅgīkṛtya tath=aivaṁ prati[pāditāḥ] (|*)
Etac=ca bhūmi-[dānaṁ yathākāla]-bhāvibhis=sarvvair=e-
61 va bhūmi-patibhiḥ pratipālanīyaṁ kāraṇaṁ yasya yasya yadā
[bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam)] ‖ Iti kamala-da
62 l-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lolāṁ śriyam=anucintya manuṣya-jīvitañ=caḥ-
(ñ=ca |) sakalam=idam=udāhṛtañ=ca vu(bu)dhvā na hi puruṣ[aiḥ]
63 para-kīrttay[o] vilopyāḥ ‖ (23 *)[9] Sva-dattāṁ para-datttām=vā
(ṭtāṁ vā) yo hareta vasundharāṁ(rām |) sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmir=
bhūt[v]ā pitṛbhi(ḥ *) sa-
64 ha pacyate ‖ ‖ (24 *)[10] Samvat 2 Vaisāgha(śākha)-dine 18 ‖ Likhitaṁ
Vra(Bra)hmadāsena ‖

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[1] Metre: *Sragdharā*.
[2] Metre: possibly *Āryā*. There are probably some errors in the verse. Have we to read *śrī-Bhavasya Girij=eva* instead of *Sīdajasya Rigij=eva*?
[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[4] The word *śiv-ātmā* is found engraved below the line apparently meant for insertion in verse 21 possibly after *bandhuḥ*.
[5] Metre: *Sragdharā*.
[6] This is a small passage in prose between verses 21 and 22.
[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[8] The intended reading may be *°kriyatām=ato bhavadbhir = ity = asya*.
[9] Metre: *Pṛiṣpitāgrā*.
[10] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*. There is a mark (slightly different from the usual globular sign) between the double *daṇḍas*.

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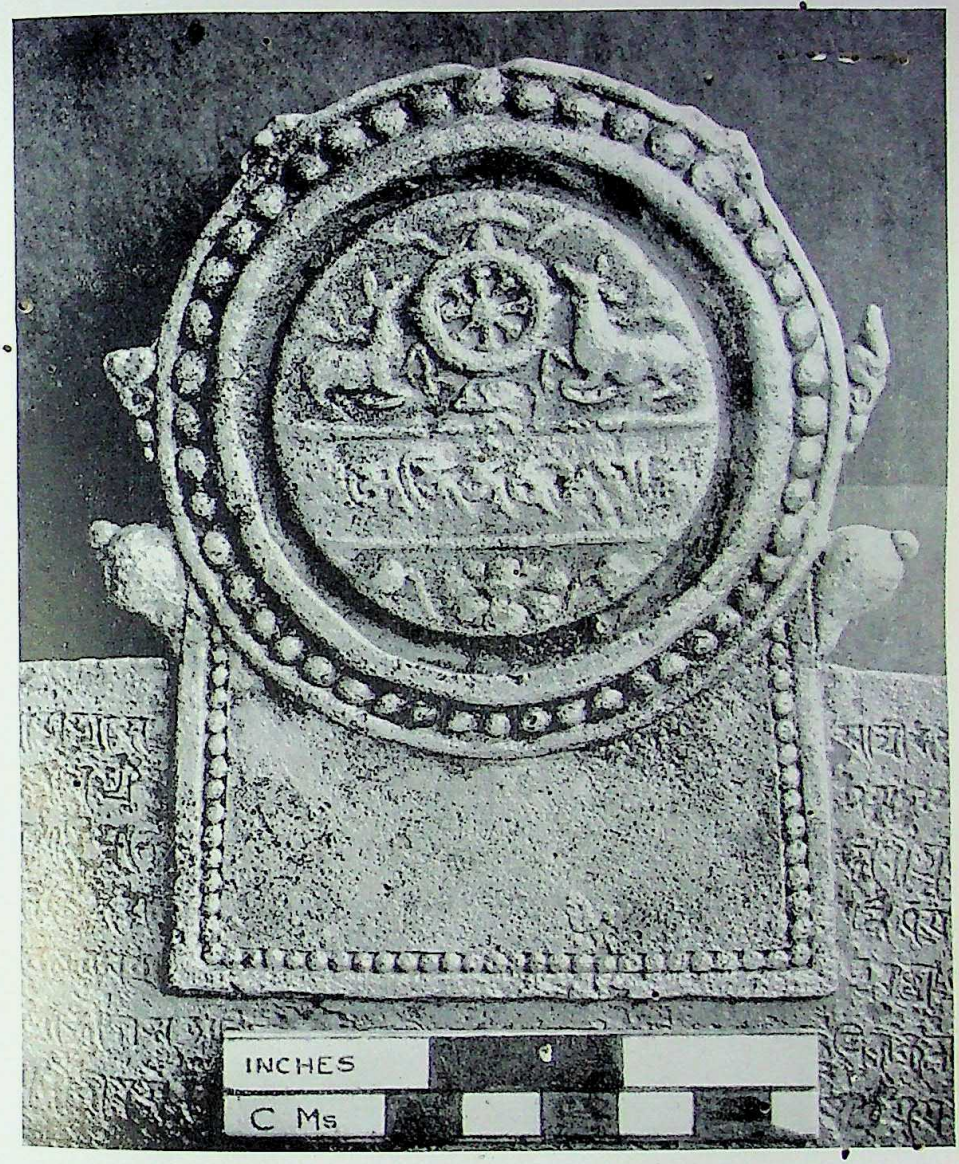

Seal of the Copper-plate of Bhavadeva.
(From a photograph kindly supplied by the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.)

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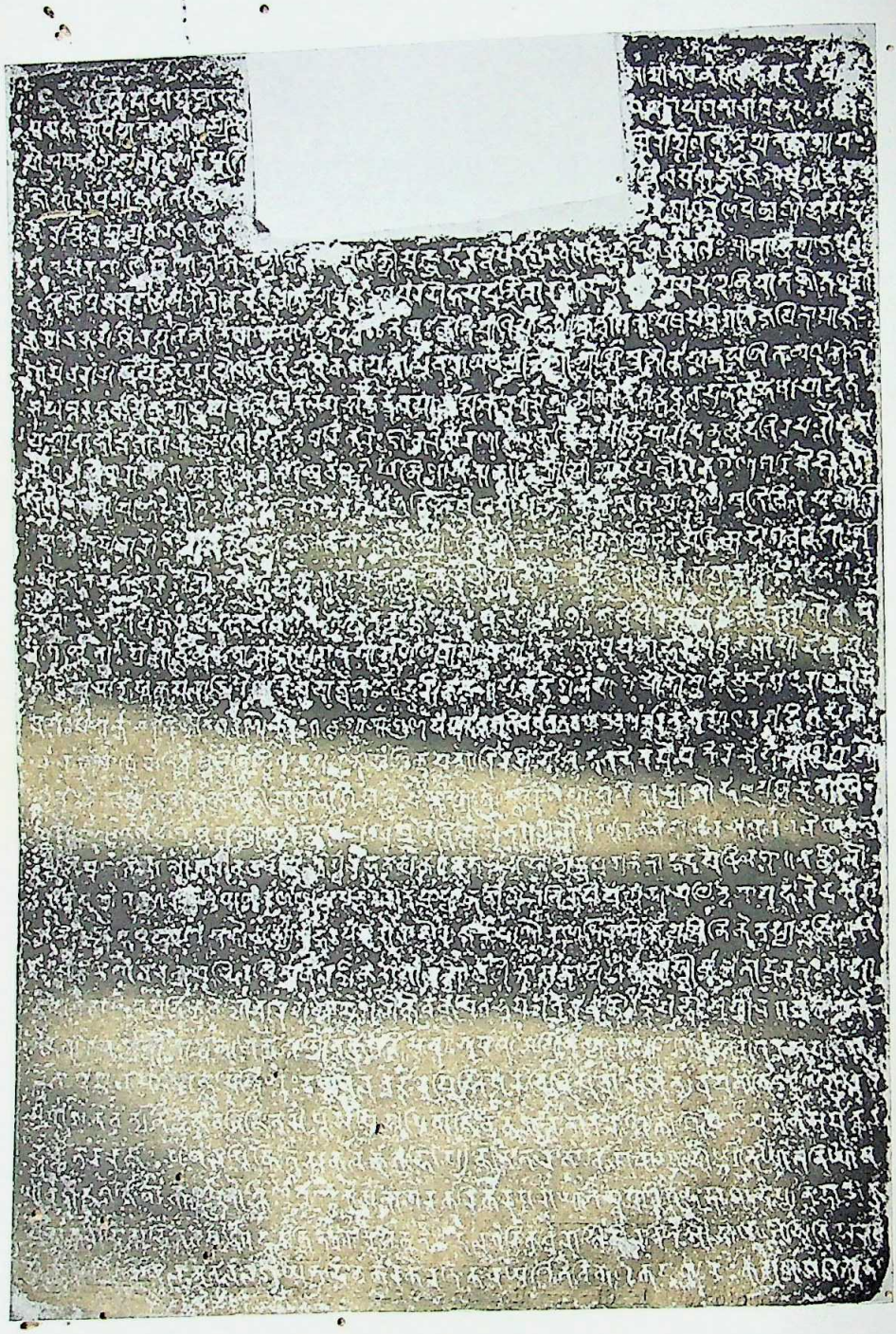

Copper-plate of Bhavadeva; Obverse.

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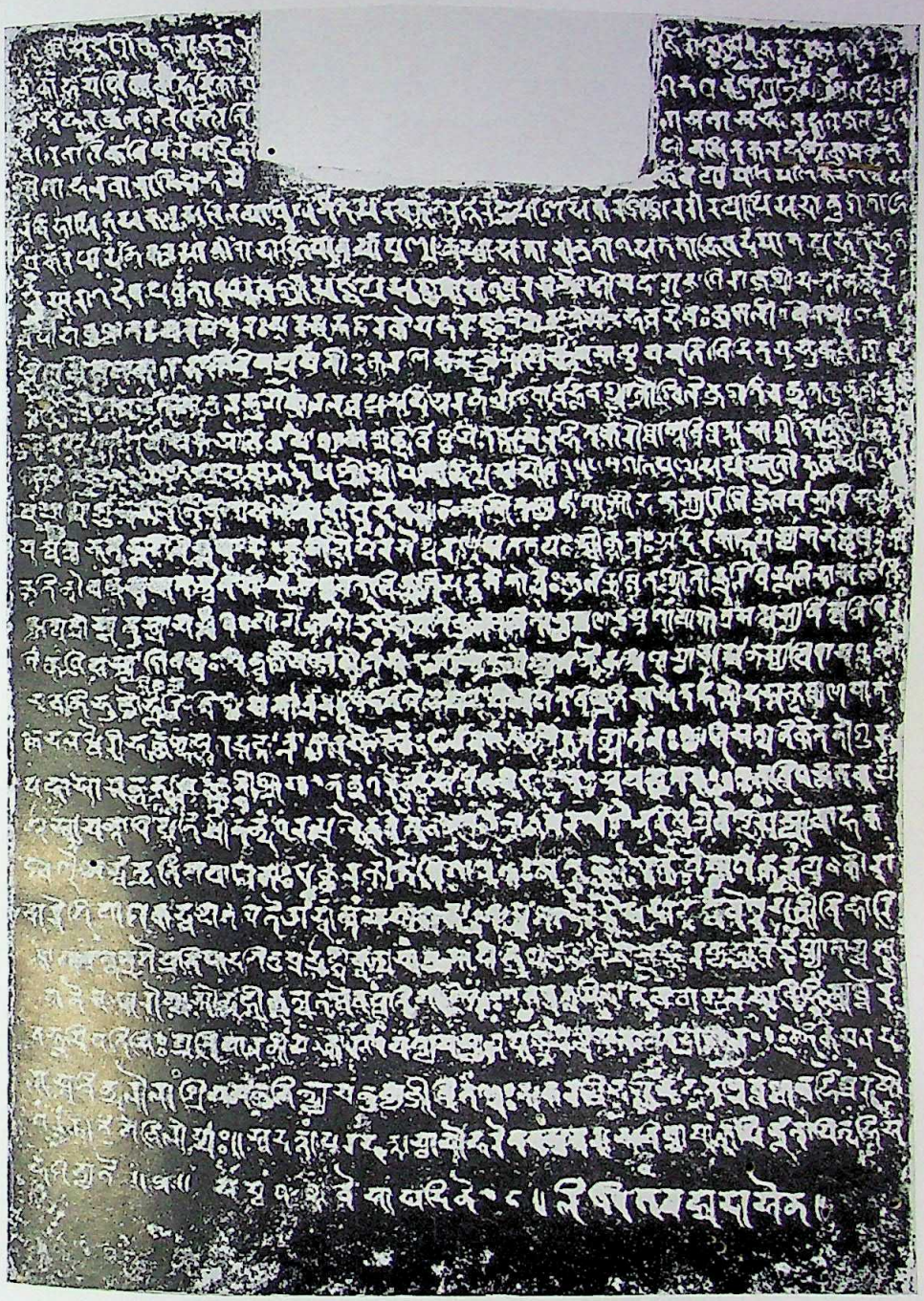

Copper-plate of Bhavadeva ; Reverse.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF BHUBANESVARA

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(*Received July 18, 1950*)

Prof. R. D. Banerji has observed, 'We do not know anything of the history of Kaliṅga and Orissa after the fall of the dynasty of Khāravela till the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the seventh century A.D.'[1] With regard to the history of the Orissan art and architecture he has also made a similar observation: 'There is a long gap after the first century B.C. in the history of Orissan architecture as in the case of her political history. It is extremely difficult to say at present how Orissan architecture developed during the eight centuries which intervened between the second group of Jaina caves and the earliest mediaeval temples. Our materials for these eight hundred years are yet very scanty with regard to the study of the evolution of art and totally non-existent with regard to architecture.'[2]

Although in recent times I have attempted to push back the date of the earliest standing temples at Bhubaneśvara to the beginning of the seventh century A.D.[3], the main conclusions of Prof. Banerji with regard to the so-called blank period of the Orissan history, still remain unshaken. It is intended here to lessen this gap as much as possible with the materials now available.

Before attempting to do so, it is necessary to speak a few words about the process adopted by the earlier scholars with regard to the study of Indian art and architecture, which seems to have been more responsible for creating blank periods than the absence of materials. It is that the history of art and architecture has been allowed to follow political history. If there is a blank period in political history, a corresponding blank period in the history of art and architecture has also been supposed. In fact archaeology has been allowed to follow history, although in its ideal form the former ought to check, modify and reconstruct the latter. In the case of Orissa, political history is almost unknown from the end of Khāravela's dynasty in the second or first century B.C. down to the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the seventh century A.D. This blank period of political history has been made to correspond with the gap in the history of art and architecture. In the case of India the same process has been responsible for an immense gap in the history of art and architecture, which has in one end the last phase of the Indus Valley Civilization and in the other the reign of Aśoka. It has not been shown how Indian plastic art as exemplified in the fine statuettes of lime and sandstone excavated from Mohenjodaro was totally forgotten for such a long time to be revived at an immensely later stage of the Indian history. The usual explanation that the Indian art and architecture owed their origin to the Perso-Hellenic influence in the reign of Aśoka does not carry conviction in as much as a foreign influence however strong can only serve to invigorate or renovate an indigenous process already in existence. No systematic excavation or exploration within a wide area has yet proved that the Indian plastic art, in some form

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 109. [2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 333.
[3] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 109ff.

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or other, did not exist before the reign of Aśoka. It will be shown in the present paper that some specimens of Orissan sculptures otherwise proved to have belonged to the reign of Aśoka, do not share those characteristics which are taken to have been the result of a foreign influence. These specimens bereft of the characteristics traced to a foreign influence should be taken to be the products of a local school of art which must have a history of its own.

The process of determining the age of art and architecture also needs revision in the light of the progress of archaeology. The date or age of a sculpture or architecture is very often determined on the basis of style or epigraphic evidence found on it. They have been studied more from the standpoint of an art-critic or a student of religion than from that of an archaeologist. Stylistic peculiarities in the case of Orissan sculptures have proved to be illusory and misleading. Take for instance the Buddhist sculptures discovered from Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri of the Cuttack district, which are 'characterized by naturalism, perfect equipoise combined with a very high standard of idealistic excellence', but they 'can be safely assigned to the middle of the eighth century or its beginning'.[1] But for the presence of inscriptions on some of them, they would have thus been mistaken to be the products of the Gupta Age. Stylistic considerations very often ignore certain important factors such as the local peculiarities, skill and capacity of individual sculptors, pecuniary condition of donors and also unwarrantably presuppose a same level of culture prevailing in different parts of India during a particular age. The conclusions reached on stylistic considerations also admit of wide variations and sometimes reduce themselves to matters of opinions. One notices a vast difference even in the contemporaneous art of the same locality, an instance of which, as Dr. H. K. Mahatab has pointed out,[2] is to be found in the images of the Jagamohana of the Jagannath temple at Puri and the great temple at Konarka. The former are characterized by crudity and grossness, but the latter are the superb products of a renascent art. The stylistic peculiarities unaided by any other evidence are thus apt to lead to wrong conclusions, but these peculiarities can be utilized as a secondary evidence whenever necessary.

The epigraphic evidence having been accepted a basis of determining the age of art and architecture, its absence has consequently been taken to be a serious handicap. Prof. R. D. Banerji has taken the absence of epigraphic records as a serious handicap in dating the Brahminical temples and sculptures in Orissa.[3] It is true that the palaeography of even an undated inscription goes a long way in giving us an approximate date, but while its presence on the archaeological objects is to be taken as a positive advantage, its absence should not be taken as a serious handicap. For the chronology or sequence of a class of antiquities, especially of one particular locality or zone, a modern archaeologist does not consider epigraphic records, so rarely found, as indispensable. By close observation and comparative study which lead to the discovery of a number of clues to their age, he attempts to establish their sequence which assumes the shape of a chronology, if some datum lines representing some known dates are discovered at some stages of their evolution. Such objects as potteries and beads, which were once considered to be undatable materials are now being widely studied on these lines with accurate results and there is no reason why art and

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 387 and 393.
[2] *History of Orissa* (*Criya*), p. 148.
[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 395.

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architecture as the classes of antiquities with the numerous internal evidences of their age, will not give the same results when studied on the same lines.

So, deviating from the usual process of the study of art and architecture and sticking to a new method of approach, of which no full picture can be given here, I started my investigations at Bhubaneśvara which offers immense possibilities for archaeological studies. It soon became apparent to me that although all works on Indian art and architecture have illustrated the specimens of temples and sculptures of Bhubaneśvara, they have taken the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara as the earliest specimen which even at the time of their writing was a well-preserved monument. They have left out of consideration all the ruined temples and also the detached sculptures with which archaeological studies aught to have begun. They have not also explored the innumerable low mounds with which the paddy fields of the neighbouring places of Bhubaneśvara and also the banks of the river Gangua have been dotted. In fact there were already evidences to show that the suburbs of Bhubaneśvara and not Bhubaneśvara proper, that contained the earliest habitations and monuments of which those at Dhauli, Śiśupālgarh, Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri being most prominent had come to the notice of the scholars. To the scholars who have taken no notice of the earlier sculptures or the mounds, the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara has appeared to be the earliest Brahminical monument, and an immense gap in the evolution of art and architecture at Bhubaneśvara has been the inevitable result.

With a view to throw some new light on the early history of Bhubaneśvara, it was, therefore, necessary to find out the detached specimens of sculptures utilized or kept in the later temples or private houses, to make surface explorations in the neighbouring places and to re-examine the entire series of archaeological and literary data that have already come to the notice of the scholars. Such an attempt has been aimed at reconstructing both political and cultural history of Bhubaneśvara, which is almost co-eval with the history of Orissa, but when the materials for political history have not been available, only the cultural aspects have been dealt with. The present paper will, however, confine itself only to the early period down to the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple in the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

The earliest piece of Orissan sculpture that can definitely be taken to have belonged to the reign of Aśoka is the colossal elephant which is found at the top of the boulder containing his rock edicts at Dhauli situated about 5 miles to the south of Bhubaneśvara. It cannot be held that the elephant figure is not a contemporary of the inscription, because at Kalsi near Dehra Dun, the same version of the Aśokan inscription contains an incised figure of elephant with a label in Aśokan Brāhmī, which indicates that it was not unusual in Aśoka's reign to represent an elephant figure, the sacred symbol of the Buddhists, along with the inscription. The elephant at Dhauli, however, does not bear the characteristics usually found in the Asokan sculptures. The lustrous polish is completely absent and the anatomical treatment of the limbs is not to be found in the same pronounced form as it is to be found in other animal figures of the Asokan sculptures. The absence of lustrous polish may with reason be attributed to the inferior type of sandstone utilized for its carving, but the absence of even the perfect smoothness which local sandstone is capable of receiving, cannot be easily explained away. The conclusion should, therefore, be that it was a work of a local art with the characteristics that had developed up to the reign of Aśoka.

There is also another animal figure which can be assigned to the reign of Aśoka, but which does not bear the characteristics of the Asokan sculptures. It is the front part of a lion capital recently discovered at Bhubaneśvara.

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In order to prove that it actually belonged to the reign of Aśoka, it is necessary here to briefly relate the circumstances that led to its discovery.

Although Aśoka's rock edicts are found at Dhauli near Bhubaneśvara and at Jaugaḍa in the Ganjam district, the existence of an Aśokan pillar within the limits of ancient Kaliṅga had not yet been traced. The absence of an Aśokan pillar in Kaliṅga would appear contrary to the logical sequence of events that must have followed its conquest by Aśoka, for, as a conquered country it must have claimed the emperor's special attention for good government and also for the promulgation of his *Dhamma*. Relying on such a possibility Dr. Rajendralal Mitra had suggested in 1880 that the colossal liṅgam now enshrined in the temple of Bhāskareśvara at Bhubaneśvara might have been a remnant of an Aśokan pillar.[1] But since his suggestion was based on no other evidence save similarity, most of the later scholars writing upon the monuments of Bhubaneśvara took no notice of it and some scholars like Messrs M. M. Ganguli,[2] N. K. Bose [3] and K. N. Mahapatra [4] who discussed this suggestion, directly refuted it.

Notwithstanding the adverse views of these scholars when I subjected the colossal liṅgam of the Bhāskareśvara temple to close examination, most of its characteristics appeared to me unusual and some, inexplicable. Its dimensions are unusual for an ordinary Śiva liṅgam, they being nine feet in height, twelve feet and five inches in circumference at its base, enclosed by a *śakti* with an outer circumference of about twenty feet. Like other liṅgams it has no smooth surface, but on the contrary the original smoothness has been destroyed by deliberate chiselling. It has no rounded top, but in its place there is a tapering projection indicating the remnant of a monolithic pillar. Its *śakti* instead of being made with a single block of stone, as is the case with all others, is made up of four pieces joined together. This device indicates that the liṅgam was *in situ* and the *śakti* has been fitted to it later on. These peculiarities of unusual character led to further scrutiny which revealed the traces of some Aśokan Brāhmī letters on a vertical portion of the liṅgam where chiselling seems to have been less heavy. It is true that the traces giving the complete forms of Brāhmī letters are only a few, but their paucity is explicable, because after chiselling, only abnormally deep-cut letters were likely to leave cognizable traces. It cannot, however, be held that chiselling at random could ever produce Aśokan Brāhmī letters of usual dimensions. The attention of the archaeologists then working in the Śiśupālgarh excavation, was, therefore, drawn to these traces, but since there was room for a difference of opinions, they

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[1] *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 98.

Dr. B. M. Barua also makes a similar assumption that 'the stump of Aśoka's monolith which is being worshipped as a phallic emblem in the Bhāskareśwar temple may still bear a copy of M.R.E.' *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Part II, p. 3. Neither Dr. Mitra nor Dr. Barua has adduced any evidence to prove that the liṅgam in the Bhāskareśvara temple was originally an Asokan pillar. Theirs was only an assumption which remained to be proved.

[2] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 324.

[3] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 260.

With regard to the colossal lingam, Mr. Bose observes: 'It was held by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra that the lingam of Bāskareśvara was really an Asokan pillar. The column is made of fine grained sandstone and does not bear the slightest trace of the Mauryan polish on its surface. That practically rules out the possibility of an Aśokan origin.' Mr. Bose does not take into consideration the fact that no polish, Mauryan or otherwise, is likely to survive after heavy chiselling of which the liṅgam bears the distinct marks all over its body. He also does not consider the fact that the elephant figure at Dhauli, though of distinctly Aśokan origin, does not bear the slightest trace of Mauryan polish.

[4] *The Vaitarani*, Vol. X, pp. 52–59.

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became sceptic, although they agreed with me that the liṅgam was of unusual character and that the deliberate chisellings all over its body were inexplicable.

Searches for further evidence were, therefore, conducted in the close vicinity of the temple, which resulted in the discovery of a railing pillar half-buried in earth about 375 feet to the north of the northern door of the temple. This pillar has four sides of which the broader two have lenticular sockets that evidently received cross-bars (*sūchīs*) from both sides and the narrower two have each a decorative female figure (Plate V, Fig. 1). At the top there is a small projection which was fitted into the socket in the coping stone (*ushṇiṣa*). This discovery marked a step forward, because a railing fence of which the pillar was undoubtedly a part is usually associated with a stupa generally found by the side of an Aśokan pillar. It, therefore, gave an incentive for the search of the capital of the Aśokan pillar to complete the series of evidences and to make them conclusive.

Fortunately only about 40 feet from the northern door of the temple, the top portion of a figure, very much weather-beaten, but sharply distinguished in colour and fabric from the stones of the temple, was discovered and this, when dug out, proved to be the front portion of a colossal lion usually found at the top of an Aśokan pillar (Plate V, Fig. 2). In course of digging it out, it was found to have been laid in a pit with four stones on four sides to keep it in position, which indicates that its burial was not accidental but deliberate. The mane on the left side of the lion has been partially chiselled down to receive two lines of inscription in the script of the fifth century A.D., of which one line is in perfect preservation.[1] The inscription indicates the latest period when the pillar could have been converted into a liṅgam and the lion buried. There are also chisel holes on the same left side, which further indicate that there was a deliberate attempt to break it to pieces. The indigenous process of breaking a stone into desired pieces is to bore holes in a line and then to hammer on the tops of the chisels fitted into some of these holes. After having broken the hind portion of the lion by the same or some other process, there was a further attempt to break its front portion also. The destruction of the inscription on the pillar, its conversion into a Śiva liṅgam and the attempt to totally destroy the lion capital, are the clear proofs of vandalism wrought on the Buddhist monument by the Śaivas.

The lion measuring three feet and seven inches in height and eight feet and seven inches in circumference in its broadest part, is now in the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneśvara and at the time of and after its discovery it has been examined and photographed by a number of archaeologists including Messrs. A. Ghosh, T. N. Ramachandran and B. B. Lal. With due regard to the series of evidences connected with its discovery, there has yet been no room for the difference of opinion that the lion belonged to an Aśokan pillar of which the liṅgam in the Bhāskareśvara temple is the remnant.

Both the colossal liṅgam and lion are found to have been made in the same sandstone having the same colour and fabric. As a matter of fact, the sameness of fabric in the stones of both the objects and their difference from the stones of the temple, were the first indications leading to the discovery of the lion. The dimensions and the features of the lion also indicate that it could not have belonged to any Brahminical temple. Among the numerous lions to be still found at Bhubaneśvara, it is a type by itself distinguished by its own features. The inscription on it proves that it

[1] See the reading and facsimile below.

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could have been made only before the fifth century A.D. when, at Bhubaneśvara, if any temples existed at all, they, like all early temples, must have been of small dimensions incapable of containing such a huge lion at any point. The way in which it has been damaged and the manner in which it had been buried, rule out the possibility of its having been a part of any Brahminical temple, for, the acts of vandalism of which we get sufficient proofs, would not have been allowed to be perpetrated on it just before a Brahminical shrine. Considered from all standpoints, the conclusions, therefore, become unavoidable that the colossal liṅgam now in the Bhāskareśvara temple was originally an Aśokan pillar and that the lion discovered was its capital.

There is yet another piece of sculpture at Bhubaneśvara which can be connected with the Aśokan pillar. It is that portion of an Aśokan capital which consists of the abacus, torus and so-called bell.[1] The height of the capital is 32 inches and its circumference near the upper bulge is about nineteen feet and five inches. It has a circular socket indicating that it was a capital of a pillar circular in section. It is now lying in a tank known as Aśoka Jhara just behind the Rāmeśvara temple situated half way between the railway station and the Liṅgarāja temple and it has already come to the notice of several scholars. But all of them have concluded that it is in no way connected with the huge Śiva liṅgam of the Bhāskareśvara temple. Mr. N. K. Bose thinks that the stones of the liṅgam and the bell capital are of different type and as such they can have no connection with each other.[2] I was at first inclined to accept this view, but after repeated examination of the liṅgam, the lion and the bell capital, I have now come to the conclusion that all of them are of the same type of stone. The bell-capital having been exposed to the actions of weather through centuries, has become blackish with the grits on its surface becoming more prominent. The same colour and same grits are also to be found on the top portion of the lion which was likewise exposed to the actions of elements. I have now no doubt that even a chemical examination will prove that these three objects are of the same type of stone. It is to be noted here that, although the edges of the abacus of the bell capital have partly broken off, its upper circular portion shows no sign of breakage, which indicates that the animal sculpture surmounting it was made of a separate piece of stone. Only two sides of the circular portion were raised into rims to keep the animal sculpture in position.

At Bhubaneśvara, we therefore find three remnants of an Asokan pillar, viz. the circular shaft now converted into a liṅgam, the bell capital and the front portion of the lion. None of these remnants, however, exhibits the characteristics of Aśokan art. It is difficult to say whether any polish, lustrous or otherwise, existed on the shaft, because after chiselling no polish has been left. The lion also does not share the features of an Aśokan lion. It has no polish whatsoever. The tresses of its manes are not straight as in other Aśokan lions, but they appear as uniform spirals. This mechanical representation of the hairs is both crude and unrealistic. The lion being badly damaged, it cannot now be ascertained whether it had anatomical treatment in its limbs. Only the ends of its mouth possess a resemblance with the Aśokan lions discovered elsewhere.

The bell capital, although a close prototype of other Aśokan bell capital does not bear the usual characteristics found in other specimens. This led Dr. A. K. Mitra to conclude that it was not an Aśokan bell capital.

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[1] *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, Vol. IV, Plate No. 8.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 261.

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Its difference from other Mauryan capitals, as noticed by him, may be summarized as follows.[1]

It does not bear the slightest trace of Mauryan polish. The animal sculpture and the bell capital were not made out of a single block of stone. The plain abacus rising up to a height of about 6 inches with its ledges broken indicates that the animal sculpture surmounting it was carved out of another block. Below the so-called bell there is a frieze of sculptures, which no other Mauryan capital possesses in the same position. The arrises resembling the pointed ends of leaves occur in between the petals of the so-called bell which is in reality a full-blown inverted lotus. The torus moulding between the so-called bell and the abacus varies in decoration from the rope pattern appearing in the same place in other Aśokan capitals.

To these points of difference noticed by Dr. Mitra, we may add another. The decorative figures of the frieze of this capital not only occupy a different position, but also differ from those to be found in other Aśokan capitals. A greater part of the frieze has broken off, but nevertheless what remains shows from left to right a goose, full-blown lotus, goose, full-blown lotus, winged elephant, full-blown lotus and bud with stem, winged tiger, lotus bud with stem and a galloping winged horse. The figures are still distinct and do not present any difficulty for identification. But it is to be noted that except the lotuses and geese which are common Aśokan motifs, other figures are entirely novel. The honey-suckle and palmette which are taken to be the foreign motifs imported during the reign of Aśoka, are conspicuous by their absence.[2]

It would thus appear that neither the Aśokan elephant at Dhauli nor the pillar at Bhubaneśvar possessed the characteristics of the Mauryan sculptures, but still they have to be taken to have been made during his reign. The conclusion should, therefore, be that they were the works of a local school of art executed in local stone under the direction of the imperial officers or artists. They conform to the shapes of Aśokan sculptures, but differ in details and manner of execution. Compared to the Aśokan specimens, they would also appear to be crude and much less artistic.

The question now rises whether the local artists who created these specimens of art were accustomed to only wood-work or they had also some knowledge in stone carving as well. Since none of the Indian stone sculptures so far discovered can definitely be dated back to a period prior to the reign of Aśoka, it has generally been held that the art of stone carving was first introduced by Aśoka. It has also been supposed that the Aśokan pillars and sculptures were modelled on those of Persepolis in Persia. This supposition has been shown to be baseless by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami.[3] Alexander had destroyed Persepolis in 331 B.C. and when Aśoka came to the throne in 272 B.C., new Hellenistic fashions had come into vogue under the Seleucids. The theory of Persepolis origin of the Aśokan art and architecture would, therefore, land us in an absurd proposition that Aśoka sent his architects to the ruins of Persepolis burnt down more than sixty years earlier.

Although the theory of Greco-Persian origin of Aśokan art has thus been refuted, the theory of non-existence of Indian stone sculpture prior to the reign of Aśoka still holds the ground. But can non-discovery be a proof of non-existence? How many cultural relics have in reality been

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[1] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, pp. 693–99.
[2] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Plate V.
[3] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, p. 749.

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discovered that can be precisely dated back to a period prior to Aśoka? Can it, therefore, be held that such objects as pots, pot-sherds, terracotta figurines, bricks and beads did not exist before Aśoka? The growth of Indian archaeology has been moulded by persons but not by principles and by laying too much stress on the foreign influences which no doubt existed but only served as the tributaries to the ever-widening current of Indian civilization, the archaeologist in India has so far failed to follow up the main course.

We are, therefore, inclined to think that the artists of ancient Kaliṅga who created these specimens of art and architecture during the reign of Aśoka had already experience in handling stone, which has always been an easily available and workable material at Bhubaneśvara and has taken the place of wood and brick. Or else, it will be difficult to think that they would have ever been in a position to execute them under the imperial direction. The reference in Khāravela's Hātigumphā Inscription to a seat of Jina which had been carried away to Magadha by a Nanda king and which was brought back to Kaliṅga by Khāravela, also lends support to our contention, because it seems most likely that the seat was of stone, or else it would not have survived for three hundred years or one hundred and three years (*ti-vasa-sata*). Conscious of its own strength and culture, Kaliṅga presented a persistent challenge to the growing imperialism of Magadha from the days of the Nandas down to the reign of Khāravela, which no other part of India in the same measure did. During the reign of Aśoka it must have been in the height of its power, or else it would not have resisted the aggression of the Magadhan empire which had practically included the whole of India with Baluchistan and Afghanistan. Therefore, it will not be unreasonable to infer that it had a culture as great as, if not superior to, that of Magadha and that its people knew the art of stone carving and dressing.

Two statues of Nāgarāja recently discovered by me from the suburbs of Bhubaneśvara lend support to this inference (Plate VI, Figs. 3–4). One of them was found from a spot near the Brahmeśvara temple about a mile to the east of Bhubaneśvara and the other from the village Sundarapadā situated about a mile and a half to the west of the Liṅgarāja temple. Of the Sundarapadā statue only the lower portion remains. The front parts of its feet which were made out of another piece of stone are also missing. It stands against the coils of a snake, the tail of which is found going underneath its legs. The image wears a *dhoti*, the lower end and folds of which hang down in between its legs and the left side. From the girdle or waistband which it wears, a long sword with a sheath also hangs down. Carved out of a poor type of sandstone, it has suffered much from wear and tear. Its close prototype, the Brahmeśvara specimen, has also suffered much from wear and tear and has in addition a thin coat of lichen and verdigris covered all over the body. But it shows the full profile of a Nāgarāja standing against the coils of a snake with five hoods serving as a canopy over its head. The hoods have broken off, but the lines demarcating them show that they were five in number. The image wears a conical cap over its head, unusually big ear-ornaments, a broad torque and heavy bracelets and probably had a sword hanging down to the left, of which only the traces remain. Of the two hands, the left is hanging down and the right shown in the *abhaya* form over the breast.

The carvings on both sides, the heavy ornaments and their frontal pose show that they are very early images, but the real difficulty lies in assigning them a proper chronological position. There are reasons to believe that they are pre-Asokan. I have carefully compared the ornaments

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dresses and swords worn by these Nāgarājas with those of the images at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, particularly the large-sized dwārapālas there, and have found that they are entirely dissimilar and different. The statues must have, therefore, preceded or succeeded Khāravela's times. Probability is that they preceded both Khāravelā and Aśoka, because during the times of these monarchs Bhubaneśvara and its suburbs became the main centre of spread of Buddhism and Jainism, one succeeding the other, as is evident from Aśoka's rock edicts at Dhauli, the newly discovered Aśokan pillar at Bhubaneśvara and Khāravela's inscription and monuments at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. But these Nāgarājas indicate that they were the creations of a people who were the worshippers of *nāgas*. There is no sign in them to show that they were part of any religious structures. They appear as free-standing images carved on both sides and were no doubt the cult deities worshipped by the people. In the Buddhist, Jain, and Brāhminical religious structures the *nāgas* appear as semi-divine beings but never as cult images. So the origin of these Nāgarājas must be traced to a period when *nāga* worship was in vogue. Such a period should precede the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka, when this part of India was mainly dominated by a Dravidian culture to which *nāga* worship owes its genesis.

Besides the rock edicts and the pillar, Aśoka's reign seems to have also witnessed the erection of a stupa in the Bhubaneśvara area. Generally an Ašokan pillar is found by the side of an Aśokan stupa. Curiously enough, a number of railing posts have been found exactly from the same locality where the Aśokan pillar once stood at Bhubaneśvara. I have already alluded to one recently found by me in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple. Of the other finds Mr. N. K. Bose reports as follows:—'Prof. Radhakumud Mukharji discovered a piece of railing some three years ago on a field lying to the north of the temple Bhāskareśvara. It was a corner post of a railing having lenticular sockets in two adjacent sides and two turbaned figures in an attitude of adoration in other two. A friend of mine discovered a third piece of railing post at a spot which was twenty yards away from the spot from which the first one had been found. It had sockets for insertion in opposite sides and the praying figures on the other two at almost the same place.'[1] I have no opportunity to examine the finds reported by Mr. Bose, but I presume that they, like one found by me, do not possess any lustrous polish. The absence of high polish, however, does not preclude the possibility of their having belonged to the reign of Aśoka, for, as we have already seen, other specimens of Aśokan sculptures found here do not possess the same peculiarity. In all likelihood there was an Aśokan stupa in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple, but the extensive changes that have taken place in the original contours of its neighbourhood since the days of Aśoka, have resulted in the total disappearance of the structure, but the railing posts which originally formed the fence round it, furnish us with the sure proof of its existence.

There is another mound completely circular in shape in the village Sundarpadā situated about a mile and a half from the Liṅgarāja temple, which also seems to have been a stupa. Another place containing ancient remains and walls and known as Buddha Stambha is situated by the side of the road to Balianta, about 2 miles from the railway station. It seems that the religion preached by Aśoka in Kaliṅga did not die out soon after his death, but it had hold on the people till Jainism under the powerful patronage of Khāravela superseded or supplanted it. His name is still associated

[1] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 259.

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at least with one monument which is an ancient tank situated just behind the temple of Rāmeśvara. It is known as Aśoka Jhara where the bell capital is still lying. Once in a year on the day of Aśokāṣṭamī in the month of Chaitra, the movable images of Lord Tribhuvaneśvara and his family members are driven to this place in a pagoda with usual pomp and show. Once in a year on the day of Māgha saptamī the same movable images are also taken to the temple of Bhāskareśvara. That the festivals are not of recent origin is proved by the fact that they find mention in the orthodox Sanskrit texts, particularly in the Svarṇnādri Mahodaya, which profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneśvara from orthodox standpoint. Although from the early mediaeval period Tribhuvaneśvara (also known as Kṛittivāsa and Liṅgarāja) came to be the presiding deity of the place, these festivals are an indication of a younger deity paying homage to the older ones. This contention is also proved by archaeological evidences. We have already seen that Rāmeśvara still contains the Aśokan bell capital and Bhāskareśvara the remnant of his pillar. These two shrines thus grew upon the destruction of a Buddhist monument. The present temples of Rāmeśvara and Bhāskareśvara cannot be earlier than the 11th century, but they contain undisputable archaeological evidences to show that they represent earlier temples and that they have been built out of the materials of the earlier structures. The entire plinth of the Rāmeśvara is built up with the stones of an earlier temple, bearing clamp-marks and in one case or two, containing the earliest specimens of temple sculpture. The Bhāskareśvara temple has similar evidences on its body. Besides, at the time of excavating the lion capital, broken pieces of sculptures showing the earliest type of chaitya arches, were discovered, which no doubt belonged to the earlier temple.

After the age of Aśoka it is difficult to trace out the history of Bhubaneśvara till we come to the reign of Khāravela. The date of Khāravela is still disputed, but it is not disputed by any scholar that the majority of the cave temples in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri are the creations of his times. Some scholars discern a sequence in art and architecture of these monuments and place the cave-temples like Ananta Gumphā and Ranī Gumphā at the lower end of their evolution.[1] These facts indicate that the early caves would have covered at least half a century, if not more. If we assign Khāravela to the fourth quarter of the second century B.C., these monuments would thus take us down to the middle of the first century B.C. Since it is not intended here to discuss the peculiarities of art or architecture of these monuments, which a number of eminent scholars have already done, we pass on to the next stage of the history of Bhubaneśvara.

The next link in the sequence of art and architecture is provided by four statues recently discovered by me from the suburbs of Bhubaneśvara. Of these, three were found in a field in the village Dumdumā near Jāgamarā not far from the Khaṇḍagiri and one from a site near the Brahmeśvara temple. Two of the Dumdumā statues are in complete form, each measuring 5 feet and 7 inches in height and each having a socket on the head, which was evidently intended for the insertion of some other structural part (Plate VII, Figs. 5-6). Like the conventional dwarfs of the later temples, they have also been shown as bent under the weight of a structure which they raise with uplifted hands. There can be no doubt that they were utilized as volute structure. Their frontal pose, the bulged out bellies, bent knees, broad torques, heavy ear-ornaments, bracelets numbering more than one in each hand and the folds of their *dhotis* hanging down in between their

[1] Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscription*, pp. 303ff.

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legs, are so strikingly similar to those of the yakṣas forming the capitals of the pillars that support the architraves in the west gateway of Sāñchi,[1] that it is perfectly reasonable to infer that they were close contemporaries and that there was close cultural contact between Sañchi and Bhubaneśvara. Since the Sāñchi gateways have been assigned to the second half of the first century B.C., these statues should also be taken to have belonged to the same period. If this date be taken to be correct, it will also shed side-light on the date of Khāravela, which cannot be the second half of the first century B.C., because in their manner of representation and dress and ornaments, these statues have no resemblance whatsoever with the numerous images of the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves of Khāravela's times.

The difficulty, however, rises to assign these statues an exact position in a stūpa architecture. The yakṣas of Sāñchi standing back to back and numbering four in each capital, have been carved in relief, but the specimens found here are free-standing statues carved, like all other early images, on their both sides. The pillars of the gateways of the stupa to which they belonged, had, therefore, the capitals different from those at Sāñchi. These capitals seem to have been formed of a single yakṣa but not four as in Sāñchi.

The third specimen discovered from Dumdumā is a torso which has been spoilt in the middle, dividing it into two halves, front and back portions. It was also a yakṣa image. Its back portion shows elaborate knots of a *dhoti* as the back portions of other two do, but in addition it also shows a scarf worn in the form of a cross with a rosette at the point of intersection (Plate VIII, Fig. 7). The fourth specimen discovered from the Brahmeśvara area, though a yakṣa of the same type, is entirely different from other three in dimensions. It measures 4 feet by 4 feet and has holes below the arms, which no other specimen has. It seems that the stupa architecture to which these yakṣas belonged continued to flourish for a long time and that the number of such stūpas at Bhubaneśvara was more than one.[2]

It is difficult to ascertain when and how Śaivism came to be established at Bhubaneśvara, but when it came, it seems to have encountered Buddhism but not Jainism. The stūpas to which these yakṣas belonged do not seem to have been of Jain origin, because the stūpas built by the Jainas in India are yet known to have been only a few and because these yakṣas being the close prototypes of those at Sāñchi indicate a Buddhistic rather than a Jain origin. There is also another evidence which supports this contention. It is the conversion of the Aśokan pillar into a Śiva liṅgam which indicates that Śaivism succeeded Buddhism but not Jainism. The manner in which a Buddhist monument has been converted into a Śiva liṅgam also indicates a violent struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivas, the echoes of which have found mention in the Ekāmra Purāṇa. The author of this work devotes 8 chapters (from the 25th to 32nd) to the description of a dreadful war which is said to have taken place between the gods and demons on the bank of the river Gandhavatī, now known as Gangua flowing in the close neighbourhood of Bhubaneśvara. Bereft of the poetical effusions, the upshot of the story is that when the gods wanted to perform a Śaiva *yajña* on the bank of the Gandhavatī, Hiraṇāksya, the king of the demons, advised by Śukra, wanted to put a stop to it. The demons hid themselves in the jungle on the bank of the river and at night fell upon the performers of

[1] V. A. Smith. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate 10B.

[2] A yakṣa of the Dumdumā type is now being worshipped as a village deity in small modern shrine near a tank of the village of Baḍagaḍ, about 2 miles to the north of Bhubaneśwara and another of the same type is reported to be at Pañchagān, about 5 miles to the west of it.

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the *yajña*, who fled in panic. Then there was a pitched battle between the gods under Indra and the demons under Hiraṇāksya, in which the gods were defeated. The defeated gods thereupon approached Śiva who with his miraculous powers defeated the demons. Kālanemī, a prominent leader of the demons, was killed and Hiraṇāksya fled to the forest to practise penance.

The tradition, though couched in a mythological form, seems to have contained some germs of historical truth. This probability gains ground when we find that the Ekāmra Purāṇa also preserves some traditions about certain historical personages. I have shown in another paper how it faithfully preserves a tradition about 'Śaśāṅka, the lord of the earth who ruled a portion of the earth extending up to Kaliṅga.'[1] It is not unlikely that the war between the gods and the demons described by it is in reality a conflict between the Buddhists and the Śaivas, of which the Aśokan pillar converted into a Śiva liṅgam provides us with archaeological evidence. Besides, there is a village in the neighbourhood of Khaṇḍagiri which is known as Jāgamarā meaning 'the place where the sacrifice was destroyed', and there is another village about five miles from this place, which is known as Jāgasarā meaning 'the place where the jāga or sacrifice was completed.' The archaeological evidence, the tradition and the place-names thus combine to prove that there was a religious struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivas. The Ekāmra Purāṇa, a Śaiva work, would have certainly liked to term the Buddhists as the demons and the followers of Śiva as the gods.

Who was that powerful person or king that started the Śaiva shrine at Bhubaneśvara? In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to answer this question. A tradition recorded in the orthodox texts credits Śaśāṅka, king of Gauda, with the building of the first temple in the site of Tribhuvaneśvara,[2] but he cannot be regarded as the originator of the Śaiva shrine, because the inscription on the lion capital points to an age not later than the fifth century A.D., before which the Aśokan pillar must have been converted into a Śiva liṅgam. This alone rules out possibility of his having become the originator of the Śaiva shrine, although he would have fittingly been taken as such, as he is known to have been a devout follower of Śiva and is also represented to have been a destroyer of the Buddhist monuments.[3]

Although it is not possible to find out the name of the originator of the Śaiva shrine, it is possible to find out the period when Śaivism first made its appearance at Bhubaneśvara. The palaeography of the inscription on the Lion Capital shows that the Aśokan pillar could not have been converted into a Śiva liṅgam after the fifth century, but it does not indicate that the event could not have taken place long before that period. It also does not indicate that Śaivism did not exist at Bhubaneśvara side by side with Buddhism. The destruction of the Aśokan pillar merely indicates the triumph of Śaivism over Buddhism. At any rate the existence of Śaiva sculptures at Bhubaneśvara can be traced back to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. One of these sculptures which can be given an approximate date, is an image of Kārttikeya, now stuck to the western side of the renovated and rebuilt temple of Uttareśvara.[4] This image and a few others become at once distinguished from the surrounding stones by reason of their different colour, size and fabric and are no doubt the earlier

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1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 109ff. 2 *Ibid.*
3 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 92, 115, 116.
4 *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, Vol. VI, Plate No. I.

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specimens utilized in this later temple. Cult images are stereotyped in forms and here in Bhubaneśvara these forms are found to have changed only with the change of a political or cultural epoch or of the conceptions about the deities. The study of the different forms of the same deity belonging to different ages also enables us to conclude that the change of a form always resulted in the addition but not elimination of attributes. In order to determine the chronological position of this image, it is necessary here to speak a few words about the characteristics of different forms or types of Kārttikeyas that are to be found at Bhubaneśvara.

The first type is one under discussion. It stands holding a long *śakti* or spear in its left hand, the right hand resting on the hip. It has none of the favourite birds, peacock or cock, associated with it. In the second type the peacock is found in the pedestal and *śakti* posted but not held in any of the hands (Plate VIII, Fig. 8). The third type shows the deity mounted on the peacock with outspread wings and holding a long spear in the right hand.[1] These three types are found as detached sculptures that evidently belonged to the earlier temples no longer in existence. The fourth type which is found in the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara and its cognate group of the seventh century A.D. is seated on a pedestal, holding a spear in the left hand and *vījapūraka* in the right. The peacock is found pecking the hood of a snake lying under its feet. In the fifth type which occurs in all the Bhauma temples assignable to the eighth and ninth century, the same attributes are found in the deity, but the manner of representation is different. The peacock and the snake face in opposite directions and Kārttikeya places his right foot on the plumes of the peacock. The sixth type shows Kārttikeya for the first time in association with a cock which is seated on his lap, while the other favourite bird, peacock, is found sitting to his right. The type occurs in the temple of Mukteśvara assignable to the tenth century A.D. The major changes are found in the same deity in the temples of the Liṅgarāja-Brahmeśvara group and those that can be assigned to the Gaṅga period. The seventh type with some variants thus continued to be the orthodox and accepted form of Kārttikeya for nearly four hundred years from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. The main characteristics in this type are that the deity has four hands instead of two, holding in one of its right hand a *gadā* instead of a *śakti*. It places one of its left hands on a cock held up by a standing female figure on the left and allows one of its right palms to be pecked by the other favourite bird the peacock. The eighth and last evolutionary form of Kārttikeya is found in the temple of Kapileśvara assignable to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, when the deity has become completely Śaivite. It retains the same attributes as are found in the seventh type, but it also holds a *dambaru* and a trident.

It is to be noted that besides the typological peculiarities, several other architectural and sculptural evidences have been taken into consideration in determining the chronological positions of these different types of Kārttikeyas. It is not possible here to discuss and illustrate all these evidences, but from the brief discussion of the evolutionary forms, it will be clear that the image stuck to the Uttareśvara temple is the first of these forms or types. Prof. J. N. Banerji has shown that a class of Yaudheya coins assignable to the second century A.D. bears 'the six-headed but two-armed Kārttikeya holding a long spear in his right hand and left hand resting on the hip.'[2] He has also further shown that on a few specimens of the same coins, the deity appears only with one face.[3] The Kārttikeya

[1] *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, Vol. VI, Plate No. 2.
[2] *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 155.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

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image of the Uttareśvara temple bears the same characteristics as the Kārttikeya on the Yaudheya coins does. Besides the stylistic peculiarities as a secondary evidence shows that it must have been removed from the second type by a considerable length of time. As a matter of fact a change of type is not found to have occurred within less than two hundred years. The features of not only this image, but also of other images stuck to the same temple, are not to be found in other early images of Bhubaneśvara. Their massiveness, broad chests and flat faces are akin to the characteristics to be found in the Āndhra images of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. in the rock-cut monasteries of Karli and Kanheri.[1]

From all these considerations, we may place the Kārttikeya image of the Uttareśvara temple in the second or third century A.D. To a period later than this we may also assign a number of rock-cut caves which have up till now received very little attention of the scholars. These caves are still to be found in the close vicinity of the temple of Bhāskareśvara, mostly to the west of it. They have been excavated in the edges of an immense laterite quarry which seems to have supplied stones to the buildings and gateways of Śiśupālgarh, situated about half a mile to the south-east of this place. Since the traces of an ancient road leading up to this place from Śiśupālgarh and also of a bridge on the river Gangua are still in existence and since it is the only nearest place which could have possibly served as a quarry for laterite stones for innumerable buildings and gates of this ancient city, that are found on excavation to have been built of this material, such an inference will not appear without foundation. Once it is conceded that this place served as the quarry for buildings in Śiśupālgarh and its edges existed at the time the caves were excavated, we find at least some evidence for determining the age of these monuments. The excavations at Śiśupālgarh have shown that the city originated in the fourth century B.C. and was abandoned in the fourth century A.D. Therefore, the edges of the laterite quarry would have been available after the fourth century A.D. This inference leads us exactly to the time when, as the inscription on the Lion Capital indicates, the Aśokan pillar would have been converted into a Śiva liṅgam.

These rock-cut caves in some respects show architectural features more advanced than those in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves. Although without any sculptures which the laterite rock is incapable of receiving, the chambers are well-built and more spacious than their Jain prototypes. The most remarkable group known as Pancha Pāndava Gumphā, which is still in a tolerably good condition, consists of three spacious chambers of which the middle one measures 20 feet by 6 feet and has on both sides smaller chambers each measuring 16 feet 5 inches by 6 feet. All the three chambers have a uniform height of 5 feet and 8 inches. In front of these, there was a spacious verandah 41 feet by 11 feet with a row of 6 pillars which supported a superstructure and of which only the basements remain at present.[2] The dimensions give an idea that they were much better designed and more spacious than the cell-like caves at Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. The existence of seven other groups of similar rock-cut caves can be traced on the edges of this laterite quarry and also in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple, but they are now mostly ruined or half-buried in debris. Water-supply to the cave colony seems to have been

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1 Karl Khandalavala, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 21, Plate X.

2 The measurements have been taken from Mr. K. N. Mahapatra's article in the *Vaitarani*, Vol. X, pp. 52–59.

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maintained from an ancient *vāpī* (stepped well) situated to the north of the Bhāskareśvara temple.

No evidence exists in the bodies of these caves to indicate the sect to which they belonged. If the period of their origin as indicated by us is to be accepted, they are to be taken as the Śaiva monuments. The presence of the Bhāskareśvara temple in the close vicinity, which must have been a Śaiva shrine before the fifth century, lends support to this supposition. Besides, in the Pancha Pāndava Gumphā there is still enshrined an image of Lakulīśa with his four disciples represented on the side panels. The age of the image seems to be very early and it indicates that these caves have continued to be a Śaiva shrine. These caves in all probability were excavated for the Śaiva ascetics of the Pāśupata sect of which Lakulīśa was the originator. That the Śaiva ascetics lived in caves to practise penance is also evident from the archaeological remains at Dengāpośi in the Keonjhar district of Orissa.[1] Dengāpaśi and Sītābhiñji, the two neighbouring villages, contain a number of natural rock-shelters in the hills, which attracted the Śaiva ascetics. That these shelters were the abodes of the ascetics in the fifth or sixth century A.D. is proved by a line of inscription on a rock near a group of shelters, which reads as 'Puruḍhasa chhichha Marata' i.e. Maruta, the disciple of Puruḍha. The rock-shelters were, therefore, the abodes of the ascetics who lived there with their disciples. That these ascetics were the Śaiva ascetics is proved by the discovery of the only cult image there, which is a Mukha-liṅgam.

Besides these rock-cut caves there are more archaeological evidences to show that the Śaiva shrines existed at Bhubaneśvara in the fifth and sixth century A.D. These evidences are furnished by some detached Śaiva sculptures. During my explorations in February and March, 1950, I chanced upon three stone slabs containing the images of Kārttikeya, Ganeśa and Durgā, stuck to a miniature laterite temple not more than 8 or 9 feet high, standing in a public latrine behind the Doodwala Dharmasala. The clamp marks in them and the broken halo of the Kārttikeya image are the sure proofs that they are the earlier sculptures utilized in this wretched laterite temple (Plate VIII, fig. 8 and Plate IX, fig. 9). Since the stone blocks containing them are of equal dimensions, the same fabric and colour, they must have originally belonged to one and the same temple. They furnish us with the characteristics of the Gupta art of which the image of Kārttikeya is the typical specimen. The naturalism, perfect equipoise, modelling of the torso, high standard of spiritual expression and elegance exhibited by it, make it one of the highest achievements of Indian plastic art. These stylistic peculiarities entitle it to be placed in the Gupta cultural age, but having discarded at the outset the stylistic peculiarities as an evidence of age, we are not to utilize them here as the sole evidence of the age of these images. We are, therefore, to find out some other internal evidences to prove that they belonged to the Gupta cultural age.

In the image of Gaṇeśa, the contemporary of the other two, we find a mouse utilized as its mount, but the mouse as a mount never occurs in any of the numerous Gaṇeśas to be found on the earlier two groups of temples represented by Paraśurāmeśvara and Vaitāl.[2] The omission of this essential attribute in all the images of Gaṇeśa cannot be treated as accidental, but it must be taken to be a definite guiding feature of the age in which the temples were erected. These three images cannot, therefore, be assigned to the period of the earlier two groups of temples. They

[1] *Modern Review*, Vol. LXIII, 1938, pp. 302–305. Also see plates.
[2] *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, Vol. VI, pp. 40–44.

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cannot also be assigned to the period that followed the earlier two groups, because they possess haloes which as a rule have been omitted in all the cult images that occur in all the later temples of Bhubaneśvara. Since the haloes as a rule occur in all the cult images of the earlier two groups and as a rule are omitted in the same images of the later temples, the significance of this guiding feature in determining the age of the temples and sculptures cannot be minimized. Therefore, the three images recovered from the laterite temple must have been created before the beginning of the seventh century A.D. which is the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.

Evidences are now forthcoming to show that the Guptas were in occupation of at least the coastal districts of Orissa. During his southern campaigns, Samudragupta must have passed through Orissa, but his mere march through this country was not likely to influence its culture. The more tangible Gupta influence is to be found in the use of the Gupta era in some copper-plate grants discovered from the Ganjam district. The first of such grants to be discovered is that of Mādhavarāja II [1] dated in the Gupta year 300, the second, that of Pṛithivī Vigraha dated in 250 of the same era and published in the first number of the first volume of a Sanskrit magazine, *Manoramā* (Siromani Press, Berhampur, Ganjam) and the third is that of Loka Vigraha dated in 200 Gupta era, published in the *Journal of Kaliṅga Historical Research Society*.[2] Since Pṛithivī Vigraha and Loka Vigraha appear as the overlords of the donors of these charters, it is just likely that they were the viceroys of the Gupta emperors, virtually independent, but still acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta empire, then crumbling to pieces. But when we come to the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 620), we find that the line of the Vigraha kings had become extinct, because King Śaśāṅka, the overlord of Mādhavarāja II, had occupied Orissa including the Ganjam district.[3] Even if the Vigraha kings are not taken to be the viceroys of the Gupta emperors, the use of the Gupta era in the Orissan copper-plates and the discovery of the sculptures at Bhubaneśvara bearing the Gupta characteristics, indicate the strong influence exercised by the Gupta cultural age on Orissa.

After a thorough study of the Orissan temple architecture, Mr. M. M. Ganguli came to a conclusion that the Orissan architecture had been influenced by the northern style during the Gupta period,[4] but this suggestion, like many of his other valuable suggestions, has been turned down and strongly criticized by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[5] Time will show that Mr. Ganguli was correct, for, an excavation in the site from which the three images were removed by me, may even reveal the remains of a flat-roofed Gupta temple. In the close vicinity of that site, some flat slabs presumably belonging to the flat roof of a Gupta temple, are still lying, but they alone do not enable us to arrive at any definite conclusion.

Other specimens of detached sculptures that bear the characteristics of the later Gupta age are to be found inside the compounds of the Liṅgarāja temple and Bhāratī Maṭha. In the Liṅgarāja compound there is a miniature laterite temple, the back portion of which is made of a sandstone architectural fragment containing an image of Kārttikeya seated on a peacock with the outspread wings, and holding a long spear in the left

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143–46.

[2] Combined Vols. II and III, pp. 261ff. Mr. S. N. Rajguru, the editor, reads '*Gupta kāle 200*' in the second line of the inscription, but the facsimile reproduced is so very indistinct and blurred that I am unable to verify it.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143–46.

[4] *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 270ff.

[5] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 337-338.

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hand.[1] This image, the third type of the evolutionary forms of Kārttikeya at Bhubaneśvara, is a close prototype of the image of the same deity found on the Śaiva temple at Bhumra assigned to the Gupta period.[2] It is true that Kārttikeya mounted peacock with the outspread wings continued to be sculptured even up to the late mediaeval period, but in the mediaeval sculptures, the deity became four-handed.[3] The other specimen in the Bhāratī Maṭha compound is an image of Hara-Pārvatī which, though mutilated, is one of the finest sculptures to be found at Bhubaneśvara. There are reasons to believe that another vigorous school of art in Orissa, that flourished in Puṣpagiri Vihāra, now represented by the Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri hills of the Cuttack district, also existed in the Gupta period. A fragmentary stone inscription found from Ratnagiri and assigned to the sixth century A.D. by Mr. R. Chanda,[4] enables us to arrive at this conclusion. The Gupta traditions of art were kept in such chaste forms in this hill monastery that even its products of the mediaeval period exhibit the Gupta characteristics of art.

With the end of the sixth century, the history of Bhubaneśvara entered upon a new stage in which King Śaśāṅka seems to have played a great part. India in the first half of the seventh century was dominated by three great personalities, viz. Harṣa Vardhana in the north, Pulakeśin II in the south and west and Śaśāṅka in the east, but while history has done ample justice to the first two, it has been unfair to the last one, because it has tried to estimate his character and achievements only through the records that have emanated from his political rivals or their friends and supporters or from the sources of the Buddhists who regarded him as an enemy of their religion. The Śaiva shrine of Bhubaneśvara preserves at least some traditions which indicate that the grateful posterity remembered as a great and devout follower of Śiva, a person of great fame and infinite intelligence, a maker of many monuments and as one who worshipped all the liṅgams that existed in India and who built a great temple in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara.[5] The fact that the orthodox texts that contain these traditions, scarcely speak of any earthly beings, however exalted, but speak of Śaśāṅka in such glowing terms, goes a long way in indicating the great part that must have been played by him in this Śaiva shrine, but unfortunately no records exist to show the exact type of work that he did. The temple which is said to have been built by him in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara is no longer in existence, because the great temple of Liṅgarāja which now stands there, is a monument of the 11th century. Replacing old temples by new ones has been a regular process at Bhubaneśvara and the temple built by Śaśāṅka seems to have perished through the same process.

It, however, seems that Śaśāṅka made Lord Tribhuvaneśvara the presiding deity of the place. We have already seen that the Śaiva temples existed at Bhubaneśvara long before the seventh century, but it is from the times of Śaśāṅka that the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara became supreme and its supremacy has not since then been questioned. If the traditions recorded in the Ekāmra purāṇa are to be believed, they indicate that the deity was originally under a mango tree and it was not seen as a liṅgam in the first

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[1] *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, Vol. VI, Plate No. 2.
[2] *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, Plate XIII (*d*).
[3] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, p. 449, Plate XII 32.
[4] *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 5, Plate II 2.
[5] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 114ff.

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two ages, Satya and Treta. In the Dvapara and Kali it revealed itself as a liṅgam but had no temple. When one quarter of the Kali age had passed away, Śaśāṅka came and built a temple for it.[1] These traditions are to some extent corroborated by the archaeological evidence. Anybody who has closely examined Liṅgarāja must have been convinced that its *śakti* which is a later addition, is only made by human hand, but its liṅgam is a natural stone. It seems that this natural stone was originally under a mango tree which gave the place the name Ekāmra, till Śaśāṅka came and perceived in it the signs of a Svayambhu liṅgam and built a temple over it. The Svayambhu liṅgam thus established came to be known as Kṛittivāsa.

This name continued to be used in all orthodox texts. Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao quotes a list of sixty-eight places in different parts of India, which are said to have contained Svayambhu liṅgams and which are mentioned in the commentary on the Jīrṇoddhāra-daśakam by Nigamajñānadeva. The thirtieth place in the list is Ekagrāma which is said to have contained a Svayambhu liṅgam known as Kṛittivāsas. But Mr. Rao was not sure of reading this place-name as is apparent from the fact that he has put a question mark against it.[2] The place-name is undoubtedly Ekāmra but not Ekagrāma as is evident from the fact that its Svayambhu liṅgam in all inscriptions and Sanskrit texts has been described as Kṛittivāsa but not Liṅgarāja which is a later invention. Among the sixty-eight places in the list, the sixtieth place Hemakūṭa is also said to have contained a Svayambhu liṅgam known as Virūpākṣa. Hemakūṭa is another name of Kailāsā as described in the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata.[3] So, after the establishment of the Śaiva shrine, Ekāmra also came to be known as Hemakūṭa, because it came to be regarded as a veritable Kailāsā, the abode of Śiva, although no hill or hillock existed in the shrine proper. The name Hemakūṭa later on gave rise to other synonyms, viz. Svarṇṇakūṭa, Hemādri, Svarṇṇādri, etc., under which the place has been frequently mentioned in the Sanskrit texts.

We do not know when Śaśāṅka left Orissa or was ousted from it. But evidence is there to show that his northern rival Harṣa occupied Koṅgada for a while, which indicates that he had also occupied the whole of Orissa including Bhubaneśvara. But his religious predilection being mostly in favour of Buddhism, it is not likely that he had to do anything with the Śaiva shrine. His southern rival Pulakeśin II had already conquered Southern Kośala and Kaliṅga,[4] and it is just likely that Harṣa had to quit Orissa very soon, leaving the struggle for its possession to be continued by his ally the King Bhāskaravarman of Assam. Such a position is inferred from a tradition recorded in the Ekāmra purāṇa about the origin of the shrine of Gokarṇṇeśvara at Bhubaneśvara, which is now represented by a small temple on the bank of the river Gangua near Śiśupālgarh. The tradition contained in the forty-eighth chapter of this work is briefly as follows:—

Gokarṇa, son of the demon Gavaḷa, advised by his priest Munjakeśa, came to Ekāmra to worship Śiva, but having failed to see the Svayambhu liṅgam in the *Kṣetra*, saw a liṅgam at a place situated at a distance of one thousand cows to the north-east of the temple of Kṛittivāsa. He immediately established it and everyday worshipped it with various offerings in

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 114ff.

[2] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 82–85.

[3] N. L. Dey. *Geographical Dictionary* (see under Kailāsa) and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, p. 535ff.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 6 and 11.

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the morning and then went to his place Prāgjyotiṣapuri everyday in the afternoon. In the meanwhile another demon Suṣeṇa by name, son of Dṛimiḷa, came to know of it and having come to Ekāmra from his home on the Vindhya mountain everyday worshipped the same Liṅgam in the afternoon. Finding the offerings disturbed everyday, Gokarṇa one day hid himself in the jungle with a great army, but Suṣeṇa too was on his guard and had stationed a similar army in the jungle. So there was a great battle between them in which both the demons with their armies fell fighting with each other. Because the liṅgam was first established by Gokarṇa, it came to be known as Gokarṇeśvara.

Although the names of the persons given are fanciful, the place-names of the story indicate that the fight described was a fight between a king of Assam and king of the Vindhya mountain. These kings in the context of the historical facts known to us, should be taken as King Bhāskaravarman of Assam, the ally of Harṣa Vardhaṇa, and the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II. As both the kings were hostile to Śaśāṅka, it is no wonder that they have been described as demons in an orthodox work which has so much praised Śaśāṅka. The word Dṛimiḷa is a corruption of Dramiḷa or Draviḍa,[1] which as a generic term might have been applied to all southerners irrespective of their race or residence. The word Gokarṇa is also an importation from the north, south or the west, because there are three places known as Gokarṇa of which one is in the North Kanara district of Bombay still serving as a place of pilgrimage, the second is on the bank of the river Bagmati in Nepal and the third is in the defunct state of Pudukottai.[2]

Our contention that after Śaśāṅka Orissa was occupied by the Chālukyas at least for a while is also proved by the interconnection that is to be noticed in the Chālukya and Kaliṅga schools of art and architecture. Years ago Mr. M. M. Ganguli, after a study of the temple architectures at Bhubaneśvara and at Aihole in the Bijapur district of Bombay, came to a conclusion that the Orissan art of temple building was transplanted in the Deccan as early as the fifth century at the latest,[3] but this conclusion has most unceremoniously been turned down by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[4] However, more definite evidences are now forthcoming to prove that though the Chālukyas came as conquerors, they actually learned much from the art and architecture of this part of India. The first of such evidences is to be found in the cave architecture of Bādāmi not far from Aihole and of Udayagiri near Bhubaneśvara. Mr. Percy Brown has noticed that the 'intricably carved struts made of figures riding hippogryphs and other compositions of similar fanciful nature' that have been supported by the portico-pillars of Mañchapurī Gumphā in the Udayagiri hill, are the close prototypes of the brackets 'which are a most prominent feature of the Brahminical rock-cut temples at Bādāmi in Dharwar, produced at least six centuries later.'[5] There is no doubt that the Udayagiri caves being much earlier, they would have inspired those at Bādāmi.

The second definite evidence is provided by two closely similar Naṭarāja images.[6] The Bhubaneśvara Naṭarāja is now housed in a small temple standing in the compound of the Mukteśvara and the Bādāmi Naṭarāja occurs in the Cave no. I at Bādāmi. The attributes they hold, the manner

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[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 80.
[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, pp. 160–167, fn. 2.
[3] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 272.
[4] *History of Orissa*, Vol II, pp. 337-338.
[5] *Indian Architecture—Buddhist and Hindu*, pp. 35 and 63.
[6] *Orissa Review, Orissa Monuments Special*, Vol. VI, Plates Nos. 3 and 5.

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in which they stand, the poses that they show with their hands and feet, the clothes and ornaments that they wear and the attendants that they have by their sides, are so strikingly similar that we may safely conclude that one was modelled on the other. The similarity bordering almost on identity cannot be taken to be the result of an accident in the images situated so far apart from each other. It must be taken to be the result of close cultural contacts between the two places.

The age of the Bādāmi caves is fixed by an inscription of Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa, dated in the Śaka year 500, that occurs in the Cave no. III,[1] but scholars differ in assigning a date to the Cave no. I, some considering it to be the earliest[2] and others, the latest[3] of the group. If it is the latest, likelihood is that the Bādāmi image was modelled on the Bhubaneśvara one, but if it is the earliest, the position would have been the reverse. The third definite evidence is to be found in the interconnection between the temple architectures of both the schools, but this will involve us in a discussion about the origin of the śikhara type of temples. The evidences cited will, however, show that the two schools did not develope independently of each other. So the theory of their independent origin must now be abandoned.

With the beginning of the mediaeval period, we come across the standing temples at Bhubaneśvara, which make the task of an investigator less difficult in finding out its history. The materials that have been utilized for its early history are not, however, exhaustive. Leaving aside a large number of detached sculptures in Bhubaneśvara proper, an intensive search by me in February and March, 1950, in the mounds and paddy fields, resulted in the discovery of about 150 specimens of sculptures which have been acquired for the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneśvara. Of these specimens, only those possessing special chronological significance have been dealt with here. Among the remaining ones, there are many which may be assigned to the early period, although it will be difficult to give specific evidence for their age in each case. A slab belonging to an early temple and containing a frieze of boats carrying elephants is of special interest (Plate IX, Fig. 10). It was discovered from a mound in the paddy fields in the neighbourhood of the Brahmeśvara temple. One male and one female figure that sit inside the boat facing each other, seem to be the royal personages and the object that they hold up, though indistinct, seems to be a sacred relic. The elongated ear-lobes of the male figure indicate a Buddhistic influence. The sacred relic is probably being carried away to a distant land on the sea which is indicated by the wavy lines with half-shown aquatic animals.

The mounds round the ruined temple of Śatrughneśvara also yielded excellent specimens of sculpture (Plate X, fig. 11 and Plate XI, fig. 12). On the strength of epigraphic evidence we have shown that this temple would have been built in the beginning of the seventh century and that it is not far removed from the Paraśurāmeśvara in date.[4] But barring a few specimens of outstanding merits, the reliefs on the Paraśurāmeśvara are crude, tending almost to become a folk art. These two dated temples not removed from each other by any great length of time, thus indicate a change of two cultural epochs, one following the other in quick succession.

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1 *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 25, p. 2.
2 *Ibid.*
3 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, p. 63.
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 114ff.

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TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE LION CAPITAL

L1. Śrī simha vandha.

Note :—I am not sure of the reading of the second letter of the inscription. I am also not sure of the meaning of the inscription. Palaeographically the letters can, however, be placed in the fifth century A.D. Although an attempt has been made to smooth down the mane of the lion on the left side, the space utilized for the inscription is still uneven, which must have rendered the incision of the letters difficult.

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FIG. 1. Railing post, Bhubaneśvara.

FIG. 2. Side view of the Lion Capital, Bhubaneśvara.

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FIG. 3. Front view of the Nāgarāja from Sundarpada, Bhubaneśvara.

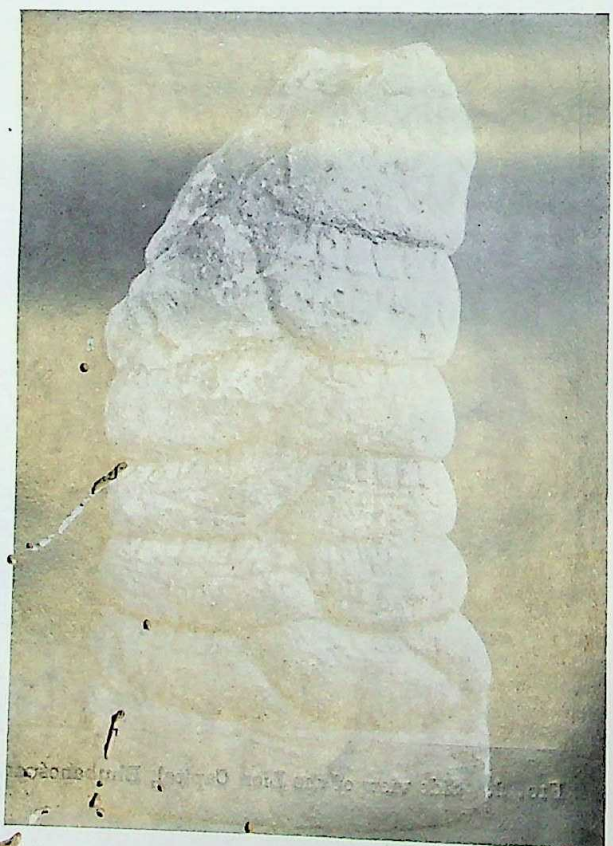

FIG. 4. Back view of the Nāgarāja from Sundarpada, Bhubaneśvara.

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FIG. 5. Yakṣa from Dumduma, Bhubaneśvara.

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FIG. 6. Yakṣa from Dumdumā, Bhubaneśvara.

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FIG. 7. Back view of the Yakṣa from Dumdumā, Bhubaneśvara.

FIG. 8. Image of Kārttikeya, Bhubaneśvara.

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FIG. 9. Image of Gaṇeśa, Bhubaneśvara.

FIG. 10. Boats carrying elephants, Bhubaneśvara.

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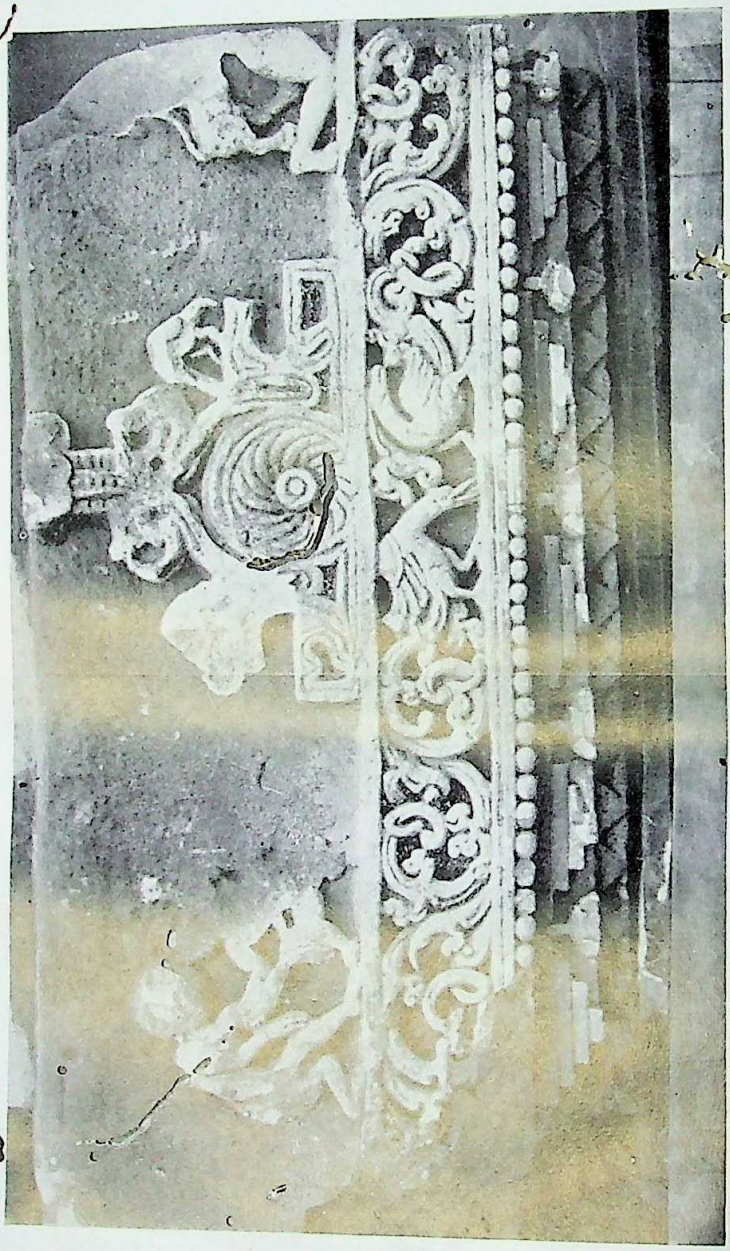

FIG. 11. A sculptured architectural part from the Śatrughneśvara temple, Bhubaneśvara.

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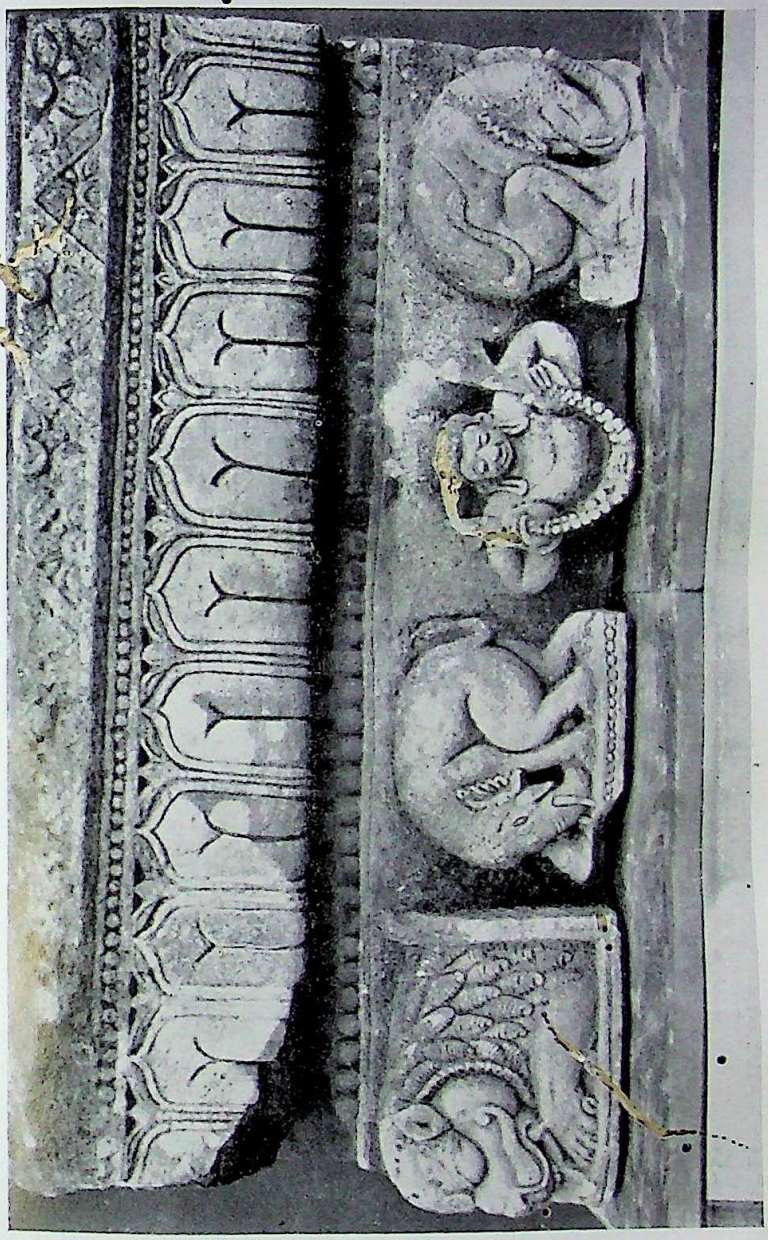

FIG. 12. A sculptured architectural part from the Śatrughneśvara temple, Bhubaneśvara.

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Fig. 13. Inscription on the Trun Capital.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951

THE TWO PĀLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF BELWĀ

By MONORANJON GUPTA, B.Sc.

(Communicated by Sri S. K. Saraswati)

(*Received July 7, 1950*)

The first information of the find of these two Pāla Copper-plate inscriptions was received by me in November 1946, from Basir Sarkar of village Bhātsāla in Ghoraghat P.S. within the District of Dinajpur. These were delivered to me at Calcutta on the 1st January, 1947, by my cousin, Sri Jagadis Chandra Gupta, who received them from Basir at Dinajpur. They are now in the museum of the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad.

The inscriptions were found by one Khāde Sontal of Belwā, a village adjacent to Bhātsāla, when widening his hearth (*chulli*) in the yard of his house, situated on a plateau-like land. His instrument struck the metal plate only about 18″ below the surface. And the plates were found one upon another with the royal seals kept away from each other.

Belwā is about 15 miles east of Hil[illegible] station, B. & A. Railway, and is within the Ghoraghat Police Station in the part of the District of Dinajpur which is now in East Pakistan.

Both the plates are of the same size. [illegible]″ in width, 14·6″ in length and the royal seal, rivetted on the top in the shape of a spear blade is measuring 7·2″ in length and 5·2″ in width. The seals appear to have been cast in dies and the metal is bronze. The plates are made of copper. One plate is heavier than the other.

The heavier plate weighs 13½ lb. and is of Mahīpāla I and the other plate is of Vigrahapāla III. The royal seal has a conch shell at the top and various decorations below in loops which enclose the Buddhist wheel of the Law (धर्म्मचक्र), two deer and the name of the royal donor inscribed on it. Many of the copper-plates of the Pāla kings have similar royal seals.

Mahīpāla I was the grandfather of Vigrahapāla III. But Mahīpāla's plate was found in a better condition, the substance of the plate thicker, and the royal seal in a preserved condition. The engraved letters contained carbon black. I cannot say whether this came from Khāde's *chulli* or it was customary to put carbon black inside the deepcut letters to make them more prominent. Chemical analysis of the plates yielded the following results :—

Mahīpāla's plate	..	..	75% copper
Mahīpāla's seal	..	..	77·5% copper
Vigrahapāla's plate	..	..	71·4% copper
Vigrahapāla's seal	..	..	71·6% copper

I do not know whether the conditions of preservation or difference in the percentage of copper content is responsible for the better condition of the grandfather's plate.

I visited Belwā and found various old relics of archaeological interest. It is a village nearly 6 square miles in area; sixteen large and small old

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ponds are in the village and most of them are now in a decaying condition. The Nayān dighi, Choyghātir bill (a tank with 6 ghats), and another pond respectively represent now plots Nos. 485, 2927 and 2660.[1] They are all excavated lengthwise north and south according to the Hindu style and each has an area of about half a square mile. On the north bank of the Choyghātir bil is a high brick-built plinth which was once the site of residence of a Muslim Pir, still cherished.[2] The plinth is built with bricks, 10″×10″×1″ and its sides resemble the *janghā* of a Hindu temple. The village is full of jungles; mounds with bricks of the above size and the base of thick walls are also seen; as also wide low strips of land which were perhaps once trenches or canals for irrigation.

Khāde Sontal's hut was found in plot No. 4154 and this was a raised land of ⅓rd acre, surrounded by the remains of a wall, about 3′ wide of bricks 10″×10″×1″. This may be the remains of one of the many Buddhist monasteries in Pundravardhana, only 20 of which have been mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Watters, II, p. 184).

South-west of Khāde's hut at a small distance on plot No. 3054 is found a mound (about 15′ high) with remains of old brickwork therein. This mound is locally known as Gudirdhāp and appears to be a fit place for archaeological excavation.

This place has a big trench in the east, about 40′ wide and old men of the locality told me that this trench had on its edges very big decorated earthen pots, arranged in rows and equidistant from each other. These have crumbled down or been removed by the local people.

I saw with Basir Sarkar a broken gold earring (about 2″ in diameter) in a crumbled iron receptacle which he had got in a trench near Gudirdhāp.

About 35 years ago, the Sontals recovered from Nayān dighi a very big stone image of a goddess, now being worshipped at Ghoraghat. In plot No. 432, I found a small decayed and forsaken Hindu temple by the side of Dhole Chowdhury's pond. From another tank named the Bāmandighi were recovered about 30 years ago big sized utensils, etc. required for Hindu worship.

The whole village has 30′ to 40′ wide water channels or trenches particularly around the sites mentioned above. These are now low agricultural land valued for paddy and would make more than 2 miles when joined together. A map of the village showing some of the aforesaid sites is appended here.

Let us now have a short survey of the environs of Belwā, as we see them now. These are of interest with reference to the identification of the land granted in the two inscriptions. Vigrahapāla's plate mentions वेल्लावा (13th line, back) to be the abode of Sri Jayānanda Devaśarman, the donee of the grant. This वेल्लावा appears to be our modern Belwā and the Bahaḍā village (13th line, back) is our modern Cak Bairā in the north-west of Belwā.

The Ghoraghat of *Ain-i-Akbari* (Goragot of Major Rennell) is only 4 miles east of Belwā. It is situated on the western bank of the River Karatoyā. About two miles north of Ghoraghat, at Bisi or Riṣighat, a stream, Kālānadi or Mahalnadi comes out of Karatoyā and runs further

[1] All these plot Nos. are with reference to settlement map of the village Belwā, Sheet Nos. 1 and 2, J.L. No. 7, R.S. No. 5508 of 1934–36. The name of the village is Belwa in this settlement map; but it is Balooya in the Survey of India map, Sheet No. 78G.

[2] Please refer to 'The Metallic Head of the standard of a Burhana fakir who lived at Belwā' by Monoranjon Gupta in *Modern Review*, 1950, p. 137.

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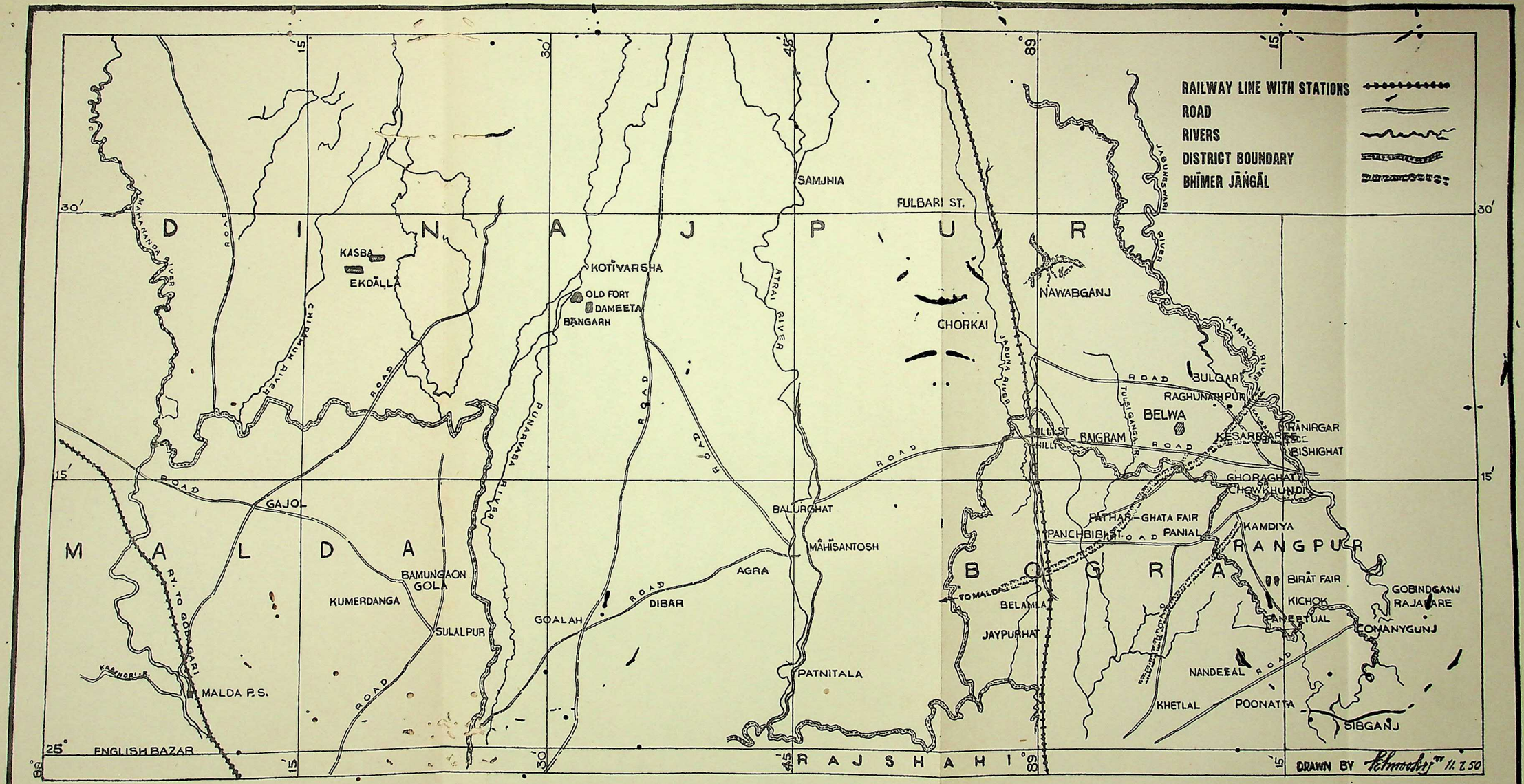

BASED UPON SURVEY OF INDIA MAPS NO. 78 C (DINAJPUR) AND NO. 78 G (RANGPUR) SHEETS NOS. 112, 118 & 119. ADDITIONS TO THE ABOVE ARE EKDĀLLĀ, KOTĪVARSHA, BĀNGARH, MĀHĪSANTOSH, BIRĀT FAIR, KICHOK, RĀNIRGARH AND BHĪMER JĀNGĀL.

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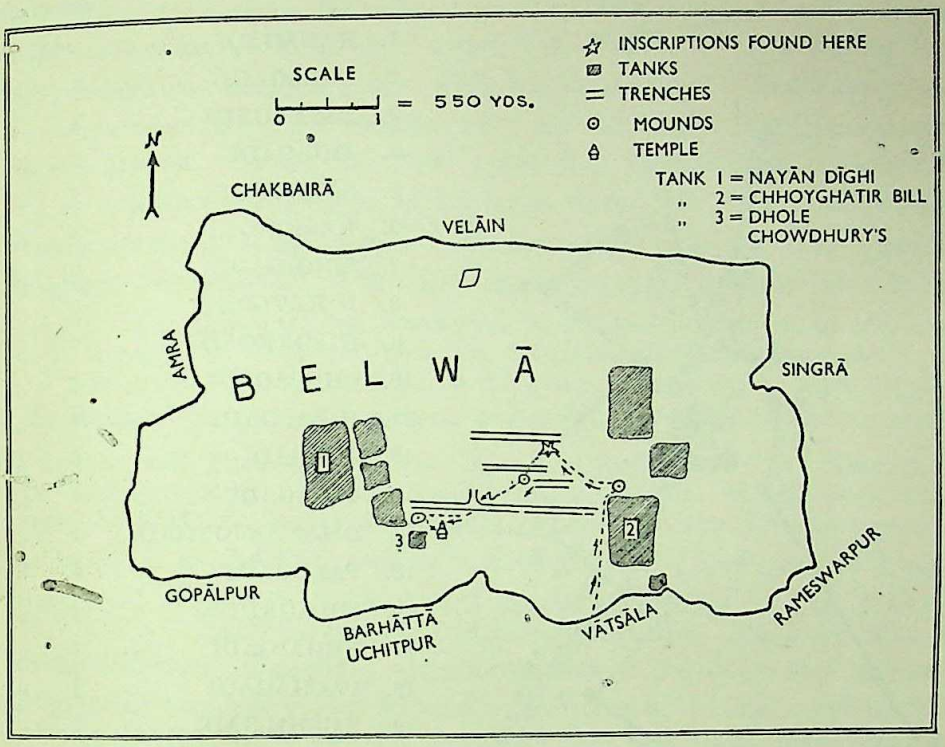
north enclosing Rānirgarh (a fort of a Queen), with old ruins. This stream appears to be a canal by the heaped up earth on the northern bank.



A map of Vārendra adopted from the Survey of India map is given here as a help in the following discussion. In the Survey of India map, Ghoraghat appears to have another name, Chaukhundi—as would appear from the use of the word 'OR' between the two place[1] names. South of Ghoraghat and by the side of the Karatoyā is a jungle named Sāhebganje, where old brickbuilt ruins are found. Adjacent to the same is another forsaken jungle with ruins of the name of 'Pāllaraj.' South-west of Ghoraghat, at Birāt village are found two mounds (each about 15 feet high). West of Birāt is Pātharghāta, by the side of the small stream Tulsīgangā with extensive ruins all over the place. (*Ancient Monuments of Varendra*, A. K. Maitra, pp. 8 and 9.)

In the north of Belwā, the neighbouring village Raghunathpur has a field of about 70 acres of land surrounded by a high rampart and old brick structures. 'The old rampart called Bhīmer Jāṇgāl, which still extends alongside the western bank of the Karatoyā points to the area which received the special attention of Bhīma, leader of the revolt'[2] against Mahīpāla II.

It is interesting to note that a chain of 22 villages, the names of which end in gāḍi, exists around the village of Belwā. A diagram showing the distances and directions from Belwā is appended. It may be noted that the names of most of these villages are of a non-Aryan origin.

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[1] This other name of Ghoraghat is also mentioned by H. Blockman in *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 215.

[2] *Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 135; B. Sen.

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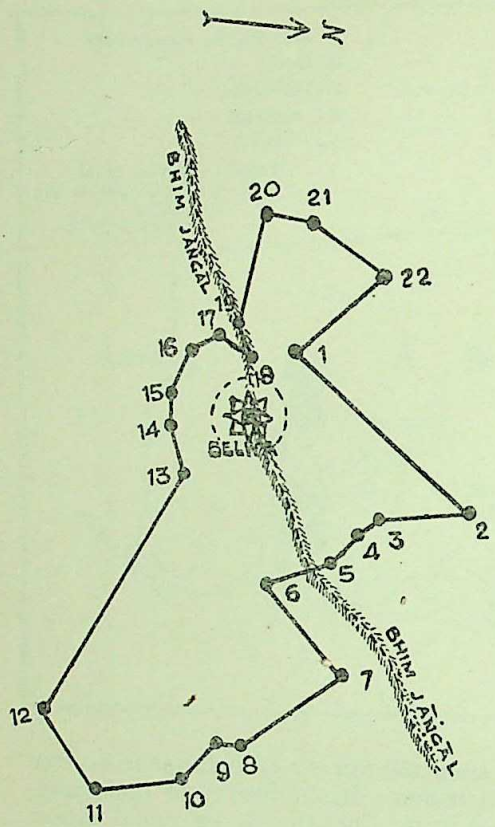

		DISTANCE FROM BELWĀ OUTSKIRT
1.	KĀNĀGĀḌI ..	1 Mile
2.	BALAGĀḌI ..	5 Miles
3.	BINNĀGĀḌI ..	3 ,,
4.	JIGĀGĀḌI ..	3 ,,
5.	SĀUDGĀḌI ..	3 ,,
6.	KASIGĀḌI ..	3 ,,
7.	SINGIGĀḌI ..	5½ ,,
8.	NIKATGĀḌI ..	7 ,,
9.	KISOREGĀḌI ..	7 ,,
10.	CHOPĀGĀḌI ..	8 ,,
11.	HIZALGĀḌI ..	9 ,,
12.	JORGĀḌI ..	8 ,,
13.	PUIĀGĀḌI ..	1 ,,
14.	DHANANJOYGĀḌI	1 ,,
15.	PALOGĀḌI ..	1 ,,
16.	SOLĀGĀḌI ..	1 ,,
17.	NEDĀIGĀḌI ..	1 ,,
18.	PACHĀGĀḌI ..	½ ,,
19.	KUCHILGĀḌI ..	1 ,,
20.	BHUTGĀḌI ..	4 ,,
21.	DEUĀGĀḌI ..	4 ,,
22.	AMLĀGĀḌI ..	4 ,,

I refrain from giving any translation of the inscriptions as they are mostly similar to the Pāla inscriptions which have been translated by previous scholars. I am, however, discussing the portions which are new.

We presume that Jayānanda, the donee in Vigrahapāla's grant or one who succeeded in his line somehow came to possess Mahīpāla's plate and both were being kept at Belwā. It may be noted in this connection that Jīvadhara Devaśarman, the donee in Mahīpāla's grant was *Hastidasa gotra* and Jayānanda was *Bharadvāja gotra*.

Jīvadhara was the donee in the grant but at least a portion was dedicated to गणेश्वरसमेतग्रामपुष्किरिणी (31st line, front). How was Jīvadhara interested in such a grant? Was he the priest of the village Deity, गणेश्वर? Who maintained this institution of गणेश्वरसमेतग्रामपुष्करिणी after this?

The lands granted in both the inscriptions lie within the भुक्ति (Province) of पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन (Mahīpāla's grant—28th line, front; Vigrahapāla's grant—27th line, front). Mahīpāla's grants refer to 3 villages, situated in फाणितवीथीसम्बद्ध (connected with the Thana of Phāṇita—28th line, front); within the मण्डल or circle of पुण्डरिका (29th line, front) and within the पञ्चनगरीविषय (District of Pañchanagarī). Vigrahapāla's grant,

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however, was situated within Phāṇitavīthīviṣaya and connected with the circle of Puṇḍarikā (फाणितवीथीविषयान्तःपातिपुण्ड्रिकामण्डलसम्बद्ध— 27th line, front).

We find, therefore, from the above that Phāṇita, which was a simple वीथी according to Mahīpāla's inscription became a विषय during his grandson's rule, though the suffix वीथी was not removed. That Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala was an administrative unit for at least three generations is also evident. And in Mahīpāla's inscription पुण्ड्रिकामण्डल is preceded by an adjective, सन्नकैवर्त्तवृत्ति, which means that it was a decayed (सन्न= अवसन्न) property (*Jaigir*-वृत्ति) of the Kaivartas or it was near (सन्न= सन्निहित) the property of the Kaivartas who raised a revolt at a later period. The Pañchanagarī mentioned in Mahīpāla's inscription appears to be the same as that which occurs in Baigrām and Kalāikuri grants.

I have given above a circle of 22 gāḍis with Belwā placed within and Puiāgāḍi [पुण्ड्रगड़ → पुञ्चागड़ → पुञ्चागाड़ी] is a village inside this ring. I believe that Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala is the original place of the Kaivartas and Kaivartas again owe their origin to the Pauṇḍras. In support of this view the following arguments may be offered. In the Kalāikuri grant, as early as in the fifth century, Kaivartaśarma (कैवर्त्तशर्म्म) is being summoned along with the important men of the village (*I.H.Q.*, March, 1943, p. 21). This grant is in the Pañchanagarī district. The grant of land to the Kaivartas (कैवर्त्तवृत्ति) was perhaps due to the usage then current of granting zemindary over an area to the chief of a caste in return for which the latter would help the king with men and arms. According to the Rāmacharita, Divya, the leader of the Kaivarta revolt was formerly in the employ of the king. Divya's nephew Bhīma succeeded him as the king of Vārendra and as was natural, he constructed victory pillars, etc., in different places of Vārendra but while raising his Jāṅgāl (ramparts), he directed some of them to be constructed in his old zemindary of पुण्ड्रिका-मण्डल. This is why we find that several of these ramparts converge towards Belwā.

Pauṇḍra → Puṇḍra → Puṇḍarikā → its मण्डल (circle) appears to be a natural development. Is it therefore the land of the Pauṇḍras? And according to the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparva, 29th Chapter, 20th śloka), Bhīma the Pāṇḍava subjugated Vāsudeva (पुण्ड्राधिपं वीरं वासुदेवं महाबलं), a powerful Pauṇḍra king.[1] According to the *Harivaṃsa* (116, 53 and 249, 15) this king was a non-Aryan and used to decorate himself with the emblems of Viṣṇu. 'The Mahābhārata peoples the Bengal seacoast with Mlechchhas; Bhāgavata Purāṇa (11, 4, 18) classes Suhmas as a sinful (pāpa) tribe along with the Kirātas, etc....., while the Dharmasūtra of Bodhāyana prescribes expiatory rites after a sojourn amongst the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas.'[2] The settlement of Aryans in this country was, therefore, effected at a

[1] F. E. Pargiter's discussion of the possibility of Pauṇḍra being an area different from Puṇḍra will be found interesting in his 'Ancient countries in Eastern India', *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, pp. 99–102.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, D.U., p. 36.

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subsequent period. At the time of this settlement Bengal was divided into four tracts: (1) the country between the Karatoyā and the Mahānandā, (2) the wide country on both sides of the Rūpnārāyan river, (3) the country between the Dārukeśvara and the Dāmodara, and (4) the country of Rāṛh. The original inhabitants of the country between the Mahānandā and the Karatoyā were Puṇḍra, Chāndāl, Pod and Kaivarta. Koch, Mech and Lepcha tribes from northern hilly regions (the Kirāta?) used to plunder this area.[1]

The Dinajpur District Gaz. (pp. 36, 37) gives a picture of the composition of its inhabitants from the standpoint of religion and caste. 'The Mahammadans of Dinajpur are chiefly the descendants of Rājbaṁśīs converted to Islam.....The name they perhaps more frequently go by is nasya, meaning whose original religion has been destroyed.' The word 'Rājbaṁśi' which means one of 'Royal descent' is interesting in this connection.

In 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' is mentioned a barbarous tribe (McCrindle's translation, p. 145) called Kirrhadai. In the second century, Ptolemy mentioned a country named Kirradia in the eastern end of India. Pentapolis (Five Cities) was a city in Kirradia and Chaturgrām was the most northernly part of Kirradia. Also, according to Ptolemy, malabathrum (तेजपत्र) was got from Kirradia.[2]

An analysis of the abovementioned references suggests, therefore, that the land of the Belwā grants was in the country of the Kaivartas and this was at one time known as Kirradia (land of Kirātas?). And Ghorāghat whose other name is Chaukhundi[3] is the Chaturgrām. And Pentapolis, south of Chaturgrām is Pañchanagarī which I am trying to identify in the following lines. It will be relevant to remember in this connection that lower Bengal is formed of the river silts.

The Baigrām plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82) mentions Pañchanagarī as an administrative centre and in the Kalāikuri grant (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, page 15), Pañchanagarī is a विषय (District). The properties granted in both these inscriptions are situated by the side of this Kaivarta country. We should therefore leave off the western country of Koṭīvarṣa (Punarbhavā) and search for Pañchanagarī in the country near the Karatoyā.[4] In the discussion of the Kalāikuri grant Dr. D. C. Sircar (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, p. 15) suggested that Pānchbibi might be Pañchanagarī, but he offered no argument in his support.

I have arrived at the conclusion that Pānchbibi was the headquarters of the Pañchanagarī district and this name continued for at least six centuries. In support of the above theory the following points may be cited:—

From a study of the census (1901) of the Bogra district we find that the largest number of the Kaivartas, Bairāgis, and Rajbansis reside in the Pānchbibi Thana. The entire Kangāir Parganā of 269 villages is

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[1] *Prāchin Rājamālā*, Rampran Gupta, pp. 406, 407.

[2] Lassen (Indische Atterthumskunde, Vol. III, pp. 235–237) has discussed this at length and considered Chaturgrām to be modern Chittagong and Kirradia its neighbouring hilly tract. Please also see McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, edited by Surendra Nath Mazumder, pp. 192, 193, 194.

[3] I may mention in this connection that the word राजखण्डीकृत occurs when describing the granted land. Vigrahapāla's—28th line front.

[4] Please see, 'In the country of Belwā grants' in *Bhāratavarsha*, by Monoranjon Gupta, 3 chapters: 1355, p. 192—; 1356, p. 406—, 1356, p. 230—.

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within the Pānchbibi Thana. Hili, Baigrām, Kulānandapur[1] and Mahīpur[2] are within this Parganā. Of the Saguna Parganā, 78 villages are also within Pānchbibi Thana. Belāmlā[3] is amongst them. Of the Ghoraghat Parganā, 24 villages are also within the Pānchbibi Thana. We find that all the places envisaged by me are within the Pānchbibi Thana and it is often seen that a place of previous administrative importance is accepted at a later period as the administrative centre of a district, subdivision or Thana. Regarding change of name, it may be suggested that Nagarī (Town) can be pronounced as Nāgarī (woman, heroine) by Muslims and the latter word means to them Bibi or consort. Thus Pañcha (Five) Nagarī has become Pānch (Five) Bibi and its ruins are still seen two miles north-east of Pānchbibi Railway Station at the village Mahīpur, locally called Pātharghāta[4] because of many stone relics found by the side of the Tulsīgaṅgā. A fair is held at this lonely jungle for a day every year. It may be noted in this connection that in the map of the Survey of India, mentioned above, Pānchbibi is Pañchabibi.

A study of the two inscriptions leads us to think that this Phāṇita is adjacent to Puṇḍarikā circle and Pañchanagarī district. Can its headquarters be Ghorāghat? But the story of Ghorāghat being Nilāmbar's Jungle Fort is still prevalent. Muhammad-I-Bakhtiyār's expedition to the mountainous regions in the north of Bengal is connected with two Koṭs (कोट)—Burdhankoṭ (Ravetry's *Tabakat-i-Nāsiri*, p. 561) and Devikoṭa or Devakoṭa. He could not cross the Karatoyā at the first place because of the wide river and he was murdered at the latter place while resting in sickbed after his disastrous retreat. We believe that as Devikoṭa became the headquarters of Koṭīvarṣaviṣaya (हेमचन्द्र), so Burdhankoṭ became the headquarters of Phāṇitavīthīviṣaya. The course of the Karatoyā has changed and therefore the old ruins of the place are not completely traceable. Burdhankoṭ still retains its old Fort (Rajbaree) on the eastern bank of the Karatoyā and the old name Phāṇita is still traceable in[5] Pāneetuāl (फाणित → पाणित → पानितोला) at the junction of several roads and on the western bank of the Karatoyā. The zamindari of Burdhankoṭ can be traced several centuries back (*Rangpur District Gaz.*, pp. 137-38) and even the Dinajpur Raj owes its origin to this Raj.

It appears therefore that the administration of Phāṇitavīthīviṣaya was taken over by Burdhankoṭ and during the Mahammadan rule it was taken over by Ghoraghat. The zemindars of Burdhankoṭ, however, were able to retain some power.

Mahīpāla's grant mentions अमल (28th line, front) followed by three indistinct letters. I should mention in this connection that Amalgāḍi is a village amongst the 22 gāḍi ring of villages.

Mahīpāla's Jayaskandhāvāra (26th line, front) is near Sāhasagaṇḍa. It is a new name. Vigrahapāla's Jayaskandhāvāra is Vilāsapura. Mahīpāla's

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[1] A stone image of Dākini was found here.
[2] Here exists extensive ruins of Pātharghāta by the side of the Tulsīgaṅgā stream.
[3] 12 Śiva Temples and other relics have been found at this place.
[4] For detailed description of the ruins, etc., please see P. C. Sen's *Bogurār Itihāsa*, pp. 74–77.
Also Buchanon's Dinajpur, p. 57.
And 'Ancient Monuments of Varendra,' A. K. Maitra, pp. 8, 9.
[5] Pāneetuāl is in the Survey of India map. But the local people call it Panitola.

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Bāngarh plate (*J.A.S.B.*, LXI, 77) was granted from Vilāsapura. We are therefore trying to locate Sāhasaganḍa and Vilāsapura.

Epigraphic records of Dharmapāla (Khālimpur grant), Devapāla (Monghyr grant), Devapāla (Nālandā), Nārāyaṇpāla (Bhāgalpur grant), Gopāla II (Jājilpārā grant), Mahīpāla I (Bāngarh grant), Mahīpāla I (Belwā grant), Vigrahapāla III (Belwā grant), Vigrahapāla III (Āmgāchi grant) and Madanpāla (Manahali grant) refer to royal encampments respectively at Pāṭaliputra, Mudgagiri, Mudgagiri, Mudgagiri, Vaṭaparvatikā, Vilāsapura, Sāhasaganḍa, Vilāsapura, Haradhama (not distinctly readable) and Rāmāvati. All these encampments are described as places situated by the side of the भागीरथी in the sloka स खलु भागीरथी.....

Patna has long been accepted as the Pāṭaliputra of old. Monghyr is established as Mudgagiri (Report of the Archaeological Survey of India published under the superintendence of Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, Vol. XV, pp. 16–18; N. L. De's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 132). Vaṭaparvatikā has been identified as Vaṭeśvarparvata (R. C. Majumder, *Bhāratavarsha*, 1350, p. 405) near Kahalgaon by the side of the Ganges. Down the stream the next important place fit for royal encampment is Rājmahal. We consider this to be Sāhasaganḍa or Vilāsapura. We believe that Rājmahal was not only important during Mahammadan rule (Akbarnagar of Suja—*Riāz-us-Sālātin*, edited by Rampran Gupta, p. 35), but it was important even during Hindu rule. If it were not Sāhasaganḍa it was Vilāsapura.

What was Sāhasaganḍa then? We consider this to be Godāgāḍi, opposite Bhagawangolā near the junction of the Ganges (Padma) and a small stream whence the modern railway line starts for Katihar and passes by the ruins of Gauḍa. The name Godāgāḍi [Goda (गोदा) means a bold lord or captain → साहस. And gāḍi is from Gaḍ ⇄ गढ] has been derived from Sāhasaganḍa. The modern Godāgāḍi may not be the actual old site. It has perhaps changed its site with the change of the course of the river.[1] It may be mentioned here that the first Sena king Vijayasena who took a part of their kingdom from the Pālas founded a capital city of Vijayapura whose remains are still traced in Vijaynagara, a few miles east of the modern Godāgāḍi (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 101). It was usual for the victorious king to build his capital on or near the last king's administrative centre.

And the Rāmāvati (Rāmauti of *Ain-i-Akbari*) has long been identified within the extensive ruins of Gauḍa (*Visvabharati* quarterly, 5th year, II, p. 71).

Mahīpāla's Bāngarh plate mentions the minister Bhatta Sree Vāmana as the Dūtaka. In the Belwā plate the minister Lakṣmidhara (24th line, back) was the Dūtaka. When the former grant was offered in the ninth year of his reign (*History of Bengal*, I, D.U., p. 137), the Belwā grant was given in the twenty-second year of his reign and on the 25th Śrāvaṇa (16th line, back).

In Vigrahapāla's Āmgāchi plate, the name of the Dūtaka could not be read. His Belwā grant, however, came through Sree Trilocan, but whether he was the minister or a member of the royal family (as was the custom in the case of Dūtakas) is not known. The Āmgāchi grant is dated in the 12th year of his reign on the 9th Chaitra and the Belwā grant is dated on the 19th Bhādra of the eleventh year of his reign (17th line, back).

[1] For details of this, please see 'The Jayaskandhāvāras of the Pāla Kings of Bengal' by Monoranjon Gupta—*Prabāsī*, Chaitra, 1356, pp. 521–28.

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Mahīpāla's Belwā grant was engraved by the artist Pushyāditya, son of Chandrāditya of Poshāli village. The artist of Mahīpāla's Bāngarh plate, Mahīdhara, son of Vijayāditya came from the same village. The artist of the Āmgāchi plate (Vigrahapāla III), Śaśideva, son of Mahīdhara, was also from Poṣāli village. These artists from Poṣāli are likely to have come from the same family. The Belwā grant of Vigrahapāla III was engraved by Prithvideva, son of Haradeva of the village Singirā. I have not been able to identify these villages.

The character of the alphabets in both the plates is proto-Bengali. And in this respect the plate of Vigrahapāla III is naturally more developed than the other. In both the plates ज is ज and ◌े (vowel e) is written as ে according to the Bengali style. The letter ष (ṣ) and स (s) has definitely changed in the grandson's grant nearing the Bengali শ and স respectively. The language is Sanskrit. These plates have practically the same language as the other grants of Mahīpāla (Bāngarh) and Vigrahapāla III (Āmgāchi).

As regards orthography, I have made some remarks with the texts themselves. It appears to me that doubling of consonants was being avoided more and more. And many spellings like गंगा now being favoured by Bengalees were already in use in these grants.

Both the plates have two letters at the left and right top corners not included in the text.

Mahīpāla's ৺ and न. Vigrahapāla's म and ৭. Are these the Ānji[1] marks usually made before commencing any writing of importance?

Nothing is known regarding the learning of Jīvadhara Devaśarmaṇ, Mahīpāla's Donee. But Jayānanda Devaçarmaṇ was learned in Pippalāda Chapter (of the Vedas) and was probably fellow-disciple of Sree Ananta. We do not know this Ananta but he seems to be a renowned person.

Brahmins were very few in those days and particularly in this area of Kaivarta influence. How did they come here? They came from the west, as usual; they came of their own accord or were induced by the local people in order to obtain the fruits of Brahmanical religion and culture.

Mahīpāla's grant mentions a new measure of land, not found in other grants. It refers to three separate items containing 210 Pramāṇa (প্রমাণ), 490 Pramāṇa and 151 Pramāṇa. Vigrahapāla's grant uses Udamāna (উদমান), Droṇa, Vāpa, Kulya and Pramāṇa in describing the land. Pramāṇa and Udamāna are new words.

I am grateful to Dr. U. N. Ghosal for his guidance in writing this paper and to Dr. N. R. Ray and Sj. S. K. Saraswati, General Secretary and Librarian of the Asiatic Society for their constant encouragement.

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[1] আঙ্গী, Haraprasād commemoration Volume I. p. 267.

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Front

श्रीमद्गोपालदेवस्य

Line

1 °[1] ॐ स्वस्ति। मैत्रीमकारुण्य-रत्न प्रमुदितहृदयः प्रेयसीं न[1]

2 सन्दधानः सम्यक्सम्बो धिविद्या सरिद [म]ल ज

3 लमज्ज्ञालिता ज्ञानपङ्क : । जित्वा यः का[+मका+]रिप्रभ

4 वमभिभवं प्राप्य शाश्वती म-प्राप शान्तिं स श्रीमा

5 ल्लोकनाथो जयति द प्यबलोऽन्यश्च गोपा

6 ल देवः ॥[2] [१] लक्ष्मीजन्मनि- केतनं सम(+क+)रो वोढुं च

7 मः च्चाभरम्। पच्चच्छेदभयादुपस्थितवतामेकाश्रयो भूभृताम्। मर्य्यादापरि-पालनैकनिरतः प्रौर्य्याल-

8 योत्सादभूद्दुग्धाम्भोधिविलासहासि महिमाश्रीधर्म्मपालो नृपः ॥ [२] रामस्येव गृहीतसत्यतपस्तस्यानुरूपो

9 गुणैः सौमित्रेरुदपादि तुल्यमहिमा वाक्पालनामानुजः।[3] यः श्रीमान्नयविक्रमैक-वसतिर्भ्रातुःस्थितः प्रास-

10 ने प्रत्या [प्र]चुपताकिनीभिरकरोदेकातपत्रा दिशः ॥ [३] तस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितै-र्जगतीं पुनानः पुत्रो बभूव विजयी

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[1] These two letters occur within bracket outside the main text.

[2] Here Gopāla is described as a highly holy person equal to Buddha. It is admitted that in those days these kings and others used to speak very highly (often beyond actual fact) of their forefathers. But such holiness has not been attributed in the case of any other Pāla king. We are therefore curious if Gopāla's holiness is justified by facts.

[3] In the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla himself, his own prowess has been described in various terms, but the assistance of Bakpāla was not even mentioned. Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, also does not mention his uncle Bakpāla in his Monghyr plate. He is first mentioned by Nārāyaṇpāla, grandson of Devapāla's younger brother Jayapāla, in the 4th śloka of his Bhāgalpur grant. We think that the reason of such late recognition is due to the fact that Nārāyaṇapāla is not Devapāla's son's son but is the direct grandson of Jayapāla who was of great help to his brother Devapāla, the king. Similarly Bakpāla was of great assistance to his brother Dharmapāla. Such brotherly affection pleases the subjects and internal revolt is discouraged. In order to continue this traditional brotherly good will, this description has been added at a later period. We also find that the slokas (drafting of the text of grants) adopted during Nārāyaṇapāla's grant continued long—up to the Manahali grant of Madanapāla. This speaks highly of the contemporary poet.

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11 जयपालनामा। धर्म्मद्विषां प्रमथिता युधि देवपाले यः पूर्व्वजे भुवनराज्य-
सुखान्यनैषीत्[1] ॥ [४] श्रीमान्विग्रहपाल-

12 स्तत्सूनुरजातशत्रुरिव जातः शत्रुवनिताप्रसाधनविलोपि विमलासिजलधारः॥ [५][2]
दिक्पालैः क्षितिपालनाय द-

13 धतं देहे विभक्तान् गुणा(ा+ा)न् श्रीमन्तञ्जनयाम्बभूव तनयं नारायणं सप्रभुं
यः क्षौणीपतिभिः शिरोमणिरुचाश्लिष्टाङ्घ्रि पी-

14 ठोपलं न्यायोपात्तमलञ्चकार चरितैः स्वैरेव धर्म्मासनं ॥ [६] तीयाम्बुवैजलधि-
मूलगभीरगर्भै (ै) र्दवालयैश्च

15 कुलभुधरतुल्यकक्षैः। विख्यातकीर्त्तिरभवत्तनयश्च तस्य श्रीराज्यपालइति मध्यम-
लोकपालः ॥ [७] तस्मात्पूर्व्वक्षिति-

16 व्राभिधिरिव महसां राष्ट्रकुटान्वयेन्दोस्तुङ्गस्योतुङ्गमौलेर्दुहितरि तनयो भाग्यदेव्यां
प्रसूतः श्रीमान्गोपालदेवश्चि-

17 रतरमवनेरेकपत्न्याइवैको भर्त्ताभून्नैकरत्नद्युतिखचितचतुःसिन्धुचित्रांशुकायाः ॥ [८]
यं स्वामिनं राज्यगुणैरनून

18 मासेवते चारुतरानुरक्ता।
उत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिलक्ष्मीः पृथ्वीं सपत्नीमिव प्रीलयन्ती ॥ [९]
तस्माद्बभूव सवितुर्वसु.

19 कोटीवर्षौ। कालेन चन्द्रइव विग्रहपालदेवः। नेत्रप्रियेण विमलेन[3] कलामयेन
येनोदितेन दलितो भुव-

20 नस्य तापः। [१०] हतसकलविपक्षः सङ्गरे बाऽदर्प[+ा+]दनधिकृतविलुप्तं
राज्यमासाद्य पित्र्यं निहितचरणपद्मो[4] भु-

21 भुजां मुर्ध्नि तस्मादभवदवनिपालः श्रीमहीपालदेवः [११][5] देशे प्राचि प्रचुरपयसि
स्वच्छमापीय तोयं स्वैरं भ्रान्त्वा त-

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[1] सुखान्योनैषीत्।

[2] We do not feel happy about this description of his prowess. A similar śloka occurs in Madanpāla's Manahali grant when describing the prowess of Gopāla III—"प्रत्यर्थिप्रमदाकदम्बकशिरःसिन्दूरलोपक्रम-क्रीडापाटलपाणिरेष सुषुवे गोपालमुर्व्वीभुजः"—Was this the standard of humanity and prowess in those days and particularly because these kings were Buddhists? Their ministers were all men of great learning and high praises regarding their education and character are in the Badal pillar and the Kamauli grant.

[3] The area of the Pala kingdom was reduced during the reign of Vigrahapāladeva and he is therefore mentioned 'as one pleasant to see and versed in Arts'.

[4] It is भुक्तां in Bāngarh Inscription.

[5] This śloka speaks highly of the prowess of Mahīpāla and describes how he regained the unacquired paternal kingdom. In the Bāngarh plate, however, this śloka occurs at the place of the [११] th sloka. There it is used for the army of his

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22 दनु मलयोपत्यकाचन्दनेषु[1]। क्षत्त्वा सान्द्रैर्मरुषु जडतां प्रौकरैरभ्रतुल्याः प्रालेयाद्रेः
कटकमभजन[2] यस्य सेना

23 गजेन्द्राः ॥ [१२] स खलु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमाननानाविधनौवाटकसम्पादित-
सेतुबन्धनिहितशैलशिखरश्रेणीविभ्र-

24 मात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटाश्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसन्ततजलदसमय-
सन्देहात्।
उदीची

25 नानेकनरपतिप्राभृतीकृतापरिमेयहयवाहिनीखरखुरोत्खातधूलीधुसरितदिगन्त-
रालात्।
परमेश्वर-सेवास-

26 मायाता प्रेषजम्बूद्वीपभूपालानन्तपादातभरनमदवनेः श्रीसाहसगण्डनगरसमा-
वासित[3] श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारा-

27 त्। परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीविग्रहपालदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वर-
परमभट्टारको महाराजाधि-

28 राजः श्रीमन्महीपालदेवः कुशली। श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्तौ। फाणितवीथीसम्बद्ध
अमल [च्च[4]दुङ्गा]न्तःपातिखसम्बा-

29 विच्छिन्न त[लो]पेतदशोत्तरशततद्दयप्रमाणौ। सन्नकैवर्त्तदृत्ति।[5] पुण्डरिका-
मण्डलान्तःपति[6] पञ्चकाण्डकाधिक

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father Vigrahapāla. In Belwā grant, he uses it for himself. In the Āmgāchi plate of Vigrahpāla III, it is used for that king [śloka No. 14]. Mahīpāla's grandfather Gopāla II also used this verse previously in his Jājilpārā grant [śloka No. 10]. The śloka is well composed and hence this is claimed by different kings. Or in those days these kings kept their paternal kingdom to themselves only by marching their army here and there constantly. And in consequence, a stable capital was not possible. This necessitated a mobile army transported on rivers—(in the absence of railway) mostly the Ganges—and this fleet of boats rested at places. This is how we come across . . . . . नगरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्. . .

[1] It is तरुषु in Bāngarh Inscription.

[2] कटकम् भजन्।

[3] Looks like त्. [4] [म्बद्र]ङ्गान्तःपाति।

[5] सन्न may mean near सन्निहित or decayed अवसन्न। It is evident, however, that the Kaivartas were given (at one time) a *jaigir*, वृत्ति। In the days of these Copper Inscriptions। and ॥ were used in place of , ; and : to denote stops in sentences. We find। before and after सन्नकैवर्त्तवृत्ति। It is therefore difficult to say whom it qualifies, the preceding फाणितवीथीसम्बद्ध अमल. . . . or the following पुण्डरिका-मण्डलान्तःपाति.

[6] पाति।

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30 ष[ट्टयाण। पवचि]नवत्युत्तरचतुःशतप्रमाणनन्दिखामिनी। पञ्चनगरी विषयान्तः-
पाति एकपञ्चाशदुत्तर श-

31 त प्रमाणगणेश्वरसमेतग्रामपुष्किरिनीषु[1]॥ समुपगता[2] प्रेषराजपुरुषान्। राज-
राजन्यक। राजपुत्र। राजामा-

32 त्य। महासान्धिविग्रहिक। महाक्षपटलिक। महासामन्त। महासेनापति।
महाप्रतीहार। दौःसाधसाधनि-

33 क। महादण्डनायक। महाकुमारामात्य। राजस्थानोपरिक। दाण्डापरा-
धिक। चौरोद्धरणिक। दाण्डिक। दाण्ड-

Back

Line

1 पाशिक। [शौ]ल्किक। गौल्मिक। क्षेत्रप। प्रान्तपाल। कोट्टपा-
2 ल। अङ्गरक्ष। तदायुक्त- विनियुक्त। हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र-
3 नौबलव्याप्टतक। किशो- र बडवा। गोमहिष्यजा-
4 विकाध्यक्ष। दूतप्रेषणि- क गमागमिक। अभित्व (+र+)
5 माण। विषयपति। ग्रामप- ति। तरिक। गौड। मालव[4]
6 खस। हूण। कुलिक।
कल्लाट[3]। लाट। चाट। भट। सेवकादीन्।

अन्यांश्चाकीर्त्तितान्। राजपादोपजीविनः प्रतिव(+ा+)-

7 सिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्। महत्तमोत्तमकुटुम्बिपुरोगमेद्रान्ध्रचण्डालपर्यन्तान्। यथार्हं
मानयति। बोधयति स-

8 मादिशति च। विदितमस्तु भवतां। यथोपरिलिखितो[5]त्र ग्रामाः[6]।
[ख]सीमाटणश्रुतिगोचरपर्यन्ताः[7] सतलः

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[1] पुष्करिणी। [2] समुपगता। [3] कर्णाट।

[4] Dharmapāla does not mention this army in his Khālimpur grant. He mentions only 'चाटभाट'। The first mention of these different groups of army is found in Monghyr grant of Devapāla and the subsequent Pāla kings followed the same. Madanpāla, however, added 'चोड' after गौड in the Manahāli grant.

[5] Before ग्रामाः is त्र; the letter preceding त्र could not be read. I think this to be ऽ (sign denoting the vanished क्ष) and adjacent to त्र and before it appears a scratch which looks like ि i.e. त्रिग्रामाः।

[6-7] These ts did not exist at the time of original writing. They have been added by scratches subsequently.

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9 सोद्देशाः[1]। सम्ममधूका[2]। सजलखलाः[3]। सगर्तोषराः[4]। सदशापचारः[:]। सचौरद्धरणाः[5]॥ परिहृतसर्वपीडाः[6]। अ-

10 चाटभटप्रवेशः। अकिञ्चित्ग्राह्यः[7]। समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्याय समेताः[8]। भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन

11 न आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं। मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये भगवन्तं बुद्धभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य आ-

12 ङ्गिरसाम्ब[रौषगामना[9]]श्वप्रवराय। हस्तिदाससगोत्राय। विष्णुदेवशर्म्मणः पौत्राय। धारेश्वर देवशर्म्मणः

13 पुत्राय। श्रीजीवधरदेवशर्म्मणे। विधिवत् संक्रान्तौ विधिवत्। गंगायां[10]स्नात्वा प्राङ्मुखमासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः। अ-

14 तो [भवद्भिः] सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिः। भूमेर्दानफलगौरवात्। अपहरणे च महानरक-

15 पात [भयात्]। दानमिदमनुमोद्यानुपालनीयं। प्रतिवासिभिश्च क्षेत्रकरैः। आज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथाकालं

16 समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादि प्रत्यायनयः कार्य इति॥ सम्वत्।२२ श्रावण[11] दिने २५ भवन्ति चात्र ध-

17 र्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं॥ भू-

18 मिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग-गामिनौ॥ गामेकां स्वर्णमे-

19 कञ्च भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं। हरन्नरकमायाति याव(+दा+)ऋतसंप्लवं। षष्टिवर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति[12]भूमिद

20 ः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च। तान्येव नरके वसेत्॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां यो हरे (+त्+) वसुन्धरां। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पि-

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1–8 See footnote 6-7, p. 129.

9 Worn out letters, hence cannot be read distinctly.

10 How they write गङ्गा is interesting.

11 It appears that these kings used the year of their own reign at the time of royal records. Even subjects followed the same procedure in their own grants, etc., even if the king did not participate in the grant in any way. Example (1) Keshava Prasasti (mahābodhilipi)—in the 26th year of Dharmapāla's reign; (2) Bagīswari stone script—King Gopāla's sambat 1 Aswin Suklapaksha 8; (3) Krisnodwārikāmandiralipi—[At] Sree Nalanda in the 25th year of Nayapāladeva's reign.

12 तिष्ठति in Manahali plate.

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21 ह्टभिः सह पच्यते। सर्व(+ा+)नेतान् भाविनः प्रार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयोभूयः प्रार्थयत्येष रामः। सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुन्ट-

22 पाणां काले काले पालनीयक्रमेण॥ इति कमलदल(+ा+)म्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुविचिन्त्य म(+नु+)ष्यजीवित-

23 ञ्च। सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति॥ श्रीमद्दीपालदेवेन द्विजश्रे-

24 ष्ठोपपादिते श्रीमाल्लच्छीधरो मन्त्री शासने दूतकः कृत। पोषलीग्रामनिर्यात चन्द्रादित्यस्य सूनुना[1]॥ इ-

25 दं शासनमुत्कीर्णं श्रीपुष्यादित्येन शिल्पिना॥

Front

श्रीविग्रहपालदेव

Line

1 (म)॥ स्वस्ति मैत्रीं कारुण्यरत्न प्र — मुदितहृदयप्रेयसीं सन्दधान(ग)

2 : समक्षम्बोधिविद्यासरिद — मलजलक्षालिताज्ञानपङ्क :।

3 जित्वा यः कामकारिप्रभवम — भिभवं शाश्वतीं[2] प्राप्यशान्तिं स

4 श्रीमान्[3] लोकनाथो जयति द — शबलो अन्यश्च गोपालदेवः॥ [१]

5 लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतनं समकरो — बोढुं क्षमक्षाभरं पक्षच्छेदभया

6 दुपस्थितवतामेकाश्रयो भूभृतां। मर्य्या[4]दापरिपालनैकनिरतः सौर्य्या[4]लयोऽस्माद- भूद्दुग्धाम्बोधिविलासहासिमहिमा श्रीधर्म्म-

7 पालो नृपः। [२] रामस्येव गृहीतसत्यतपसः तस्यानुरूपो गुणैः। सौमित्रेरू[5]- पोदि तुल्यमहिमा वाक्पालनामानुजः। यः श्रीमान्न-

8 यविक्रमैकमवसतिः भ्रातुः स्थितः शासने शून्याः शत्रुपताकिनीभिरकरोदेकातपत्रा दिशः॥ [३] तस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितैर्ज्ज[6]ग-

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[1] सूनुना।
[2] शाश्वतीं। [3] श्रीमान्।
[4] The usual ्र is absent. [5] रुदपादि।
[6] In Mahīpāla's Belwā grant this द्वित्व is absent.

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9 तौं पुनानः पुत्रो-बभूव विजयी जयपालनामा। धर्म्मद्विषां सम[1]यिता युधि देव-
पाले यः पर्व्वजे भुवनराज्यसुखान्यनैषीत्। [४] श्री-
10 मान् विग्रहपालस्तत्कु[2]लरजातः शत्रुरिव जातः। शत्रुवनिताप्रसाधनविलोपि-
विमलासिजलधारः॥ [५] दिक्पालैः क्षितिपालनाय दध-
11 तं देहे विभक्तान् गुणान् श्रीमन्तं जनयाम्बभूव तनयं नारायणं स प्रभुः॥ यः
क्षौणीपतिभिः शिरोमणिरुचाश्लिष्टा[3]ङ्घ्रिपीठोपलं
12 न्यायोपात्तमलंचकार चरितैः खैरेव धर्म्मासनं॥ [६] तोयाग्नयैः जलधि-
मूलगभीरगर्भैः देवालयैश्च कुलभूधरतुल्यकक्षैः। वि-
13 ख्यातकीर्त्तिरभवत्तनयश्च तस्य श्रीराज्यपालइति मध्यमलोकपालः॥ [७] तस्मात्
पूर्व्वाक्षितिद्रान्निधिरिव महसां राष्ट्रकूटान्वयेन्दोः तुङ्ग-
14 स्योत्तुङ्गमौलेर्दुहो[4]तरि तनयो भाग्यदेव्यां प्रसूतः। श्रीमान् गोपालदेवश्चिरतर-
मवनेरेकपत्न्या इवौकी भर्त्ताभून्नैकरत्नद्यु
15 तिखचितचतुस्सि[5]न्धुचित्रांशुकायाः॥ [८] यं स्वामिनं राजगुणैरनूनमासेवते चारु-
तयानुरक्ता॥ उत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिलक्ष्मी
16 : एष्वौसपत्नीमिव शीलयन्ती॥ [९] तस्माद्बभूव सवितुर्वसुकोटिवर्षः[6] कालेन
चन्द्र इव विग्रहपालदेवः। नेत्रप्रियेन विमलेन कलामयेन
17 येनोदितेन दलितो भुवनस्य तापः॥ [१०] हृतसकलविपक्षः सङ्गरे बाहुदर्पादन-
धिक्कृतविलुप्तं राज्यमासाद्य पित्र्यम्। निहितचरणपद्मो।
18 भूभुजाम्मुर्ध्नि तस्मादभवदवनिपालः श्रीमहीपालदेवः। [११] त्यजन्दोषासङ्गं
शिरसि कृतपादः क्षितिभृतां वितन्वन् सर्व्वाशाः प्रस-
19 भमुदयाद्रेरिव रविः। हृतध्वान्त[7]स्निग्धप्रकृतिरनुरागैकवसतिः सुतो धन्यः पुण्यै-
रजनि नरपालो नरपतिः॥ [१२] पीतः सज्जनलोचनैः स्म-
20 रारिपोः पूजासुरद्रुः सदा संग्रामे च बलोऽधिकश्च हरितः कालः कुले विद्विषां।
चातुर्व्वर्ण्यसमाश्रयः सितयशः पूरैर्ज्जगल्लम्भयंस्त-
21 स्मादिग्रहपालदेवनृपतिः पुण्योर्ज्जनानामभूत्॥ [१३] देशे प्राचि प्रचुरपयसि
स्वच्छमापीय तोयं क्षीरं भ्रान्त्वा तदनु मलयोपत्यकाचन्दनेषु।
22 कृत्वा सान्द्रेमरुषु जडतां शीकरैरभ्रतुल्याः प्रालेयाद्रेः कटकमभज[8] यस्य सेना
गजेन्द्राः [१४] ‹स खलु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमान ना-

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[1] शमयिता। [2] सत्सूनुरजातः। [3] श्लिष्टाघ्रौ।
[4] दुहित। [5] चतुःसिन्धु। [6] कोटिरर्षी। [7] हृतध्वान्तः। [8] भजन्।

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23 नाविध नौवाटक सं[1]पादितसेतुबन्धनिहितशैलशिखरश्रेणीविभ्रमात्। निरति-
शयघनघनाघनघटाश्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मी-
24 समारब्धसन्ततजलदसमयसन्देहात्। उदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्राभृतिकृताप्रमेय-
हयबाहिनीखरखुरोत्खातधूलीधूसरि-
25 तदिगन्तरालात्। परमेश्वरसेवासमायातशेषजम्बुद्वीपभूपालान्त पादातभरण-
मदवनेः। विलासपुरसमावासितश्रीम-
26 ज्जयस्कन्धावारात्। परमसौगतो महाराजाधीराज[2]श्रीनयपालदेवपादानुध्यातः
परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारको महाराजाधिरा-
27 ज श्रीमन्विग्रहपालदेव कुशली॥ श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्तौ फाणितवीथीविषयान्तः-
पाति पुण्ड्रिकामण्डलसम्बद्धसुधन्य (?) हलकुलि-
28 नफल्लावणिका [ ] राजखण्डीकृत सार्द्धउदमानत्रयोत्तर सपदाटवाप-
त्रयोधिकद्रोणद्वयोपेतकुल्यप्रमाणांश्चवर्ज्जितस्व-
29 सम्बद्धाति[विच्छिन्नतलोपेत] एकादशोदमानाधिकसार्द्धसप्तद्रोणोपेतकुल्यत्रय-
प्रमाणां [× ×] समुपगताशेषराजपुरुषान्।

Back

Line

1 राजराजन्यक। राजपुत्र। राजा [ ] मात्य। महासान्धिविग्रहिक। महा-
2 त्तपटलिक। महासामन्त। म [ ] हासेनापति। महाप्रतिहार। दौ-
3 ःसाधसाधनि[3]। महादण्डनाय- [ ] क। महाकुमारामात्य। राजस्था-
4 नोपरिक॥ दाशापराधिक॥ [ ] चौरोद्धरणिक। दाण्डि-
5 पाशिक। शौल्किक। गौल्मिक। क्षेत्रप। प्रान्तपाल। कोट्टपाल। अङ्ग-
रक्ष। तदायुक्त विनियुक्तक। हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रनौबलव्याप्तक।
6 किशोरबडवा गोमहिष्यजाविकाध्यक्ष। दुतप्रेषणिक। गमागमिक। अभि-
त्वरमाण। विषयपति। ग्रामपति। तरिक। गौड।
7 मालव। खस। हूण। कुलिक। कर्णाट। लाट। चाट। भट।
सेवकादीन्। अन्यांश्चाकीर्त्तितान्। राजपादोपजीविनः। प्रतिवा-
8 सिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्। महत्तमोत्तमाकुटुम्बिपुरोग (?) मेदान्भ्रचण्डालपर्यन्तान्।
यथार्हं मानयति। बोधयति। समादिशति।

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[1] The spelling is interesting. [2] राजाधिराज। [3] दौःसाधसाधनिक।

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9 च। विदितमस्तु भवतां। यथोपरिलिखितोऽयं ग्रामः खसीमाट(ण)पुतिगोचर-
पर्यन्तः सतल[1]। खोदेशः साम्रमधूकः।
10 सजलस्थलः। सदशापचारः सचौरद्धरणः। परिहृतसर्वपीडः अचाटभटप्रवेशः।
अकिञ्चित्ग्राह्यः। समस्तभाग-
11 भोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः। भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन। [2]आन्द्रर्कक्षितिसम-
कालम्। मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽ-
12 भिवृद्धये भगवन्तं तुद्धभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य। भरद्वाजसगोत्राय भारद्वाजाङ्गिरस-
वार्हस्पत्यप्रवराय। श्रीअनन्तसब्रह्मचा
13 रिणे। पिप्पलादशाखाध्यायिने मौमांसा[3]व्याकरणतर्क्कविद्याविदे। वाहडाग्रास-
विनिर्गताय। वेल्लावाग्रामवास्तव्याय।
14 मित्रकरदेवप्रपौत्राय। हृषीकेशदेवपौत्राय। श्रीपतिदेवपुत्राय। श्रीजया-
नन्ददेवशर्म्मणे। विसुवसंक्रान्तौ विधिवत्
15 गंगायां स्नात्वा श(ा)सनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः। अतो भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यम्।
भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिः। भूमेर्दानफल-
16 गौरवात्। अपहरणे च महानरकपातभयात्। दानमिदमनुमोद्य पालनीयम्।
प्रतिवासिभिश्च क्षेत्रकरैः आज्ञाश्रव-
17 ण विधेयीभूय यथाकालं समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य
इति॥ सम्वत् ११ भाद्रदिने १९
18 भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि सगरादिभिः।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाफल
19 म्॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्चभूमिम्प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मा[4]णौ
नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ॥ गामेकां स्वर्णमेक-
20 ञ्च। भूमेरर्द्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाऋतसंप्लवम्। षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः। आच्छे-
21 त्ता चानुमन्ताच तान्येव नरके वसेत्॥ स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्।
सविष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
22 च्यते॥ सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयोभूयः प्रार्थयत्येष रामः। सामान्यो-
ऽयं धर्म[5]सेतुर्न्नृपाणां कालेकाले पा[6]ल-

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[1] सतलः। सोदेशः। [2] आचन्द्रा। [3] The spelling is interesting.
[4] द्वित्व absent. [5] द्वित्व absent. [6] पालनीयः।

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23 नियः क्रमेण। इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रीयमनु[1]चिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च।
स[क]लमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि
24 पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति॥ श्रीमद्विग्रहपालेन क्ष्मापाल-कुलमौलिना।
ताम्रानुशासने दूतः [स्वीक]तः
25 श्रीचिलोचनः॥ सिन्गिडाग्रामनिर्यातहरदेवस्य सु[2]ना। इदं शासनमुत्कीर्णं
पृथ्वी [देवेन शि]ल्पिना॥

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[1] श्रियमनुचिन्त्य। [2] सूनुना।

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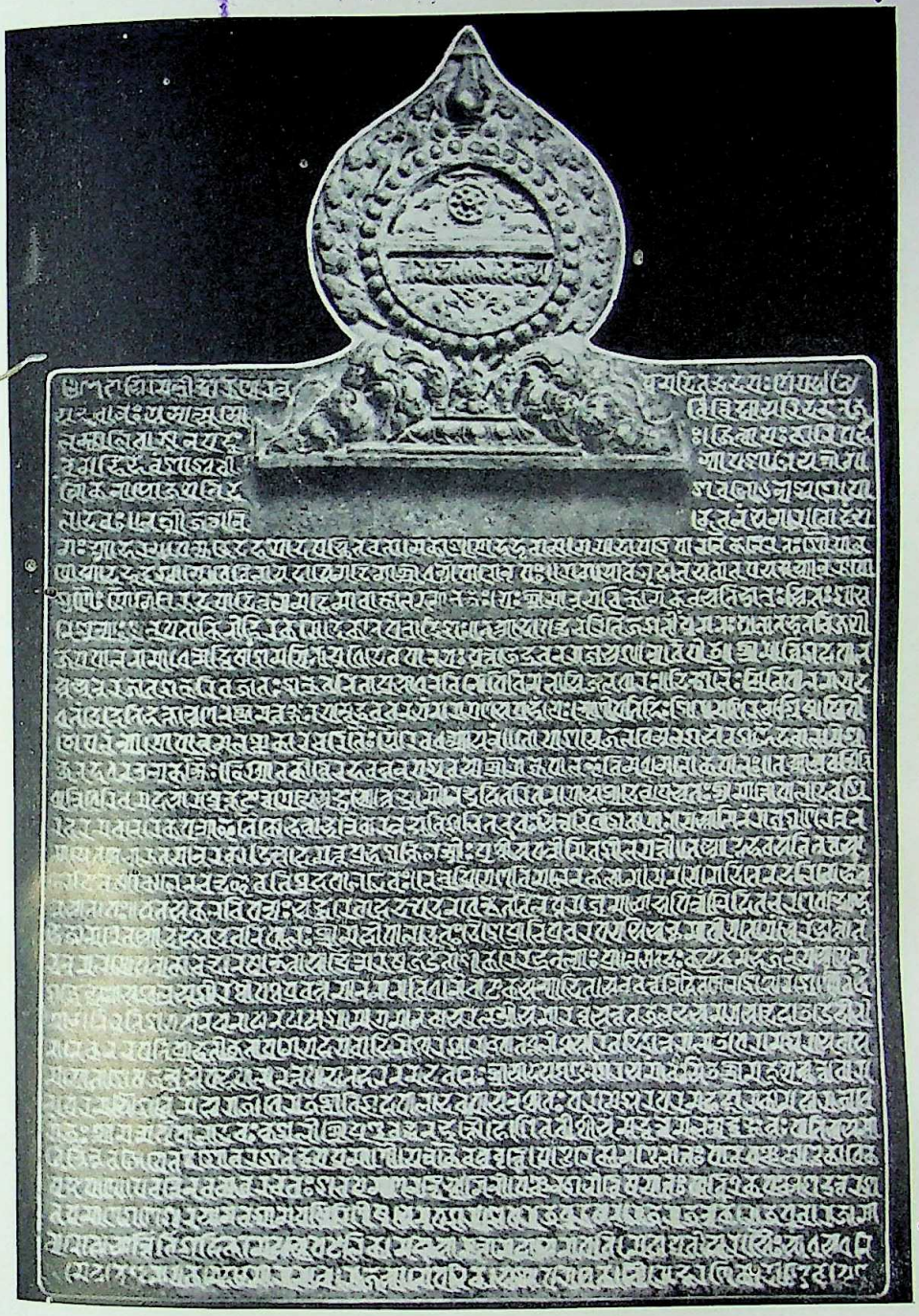
यह पुस्तक लिट[illegible]



Mahīpāla's Belwā inscription, front Photo: Imperial Art Cottage.

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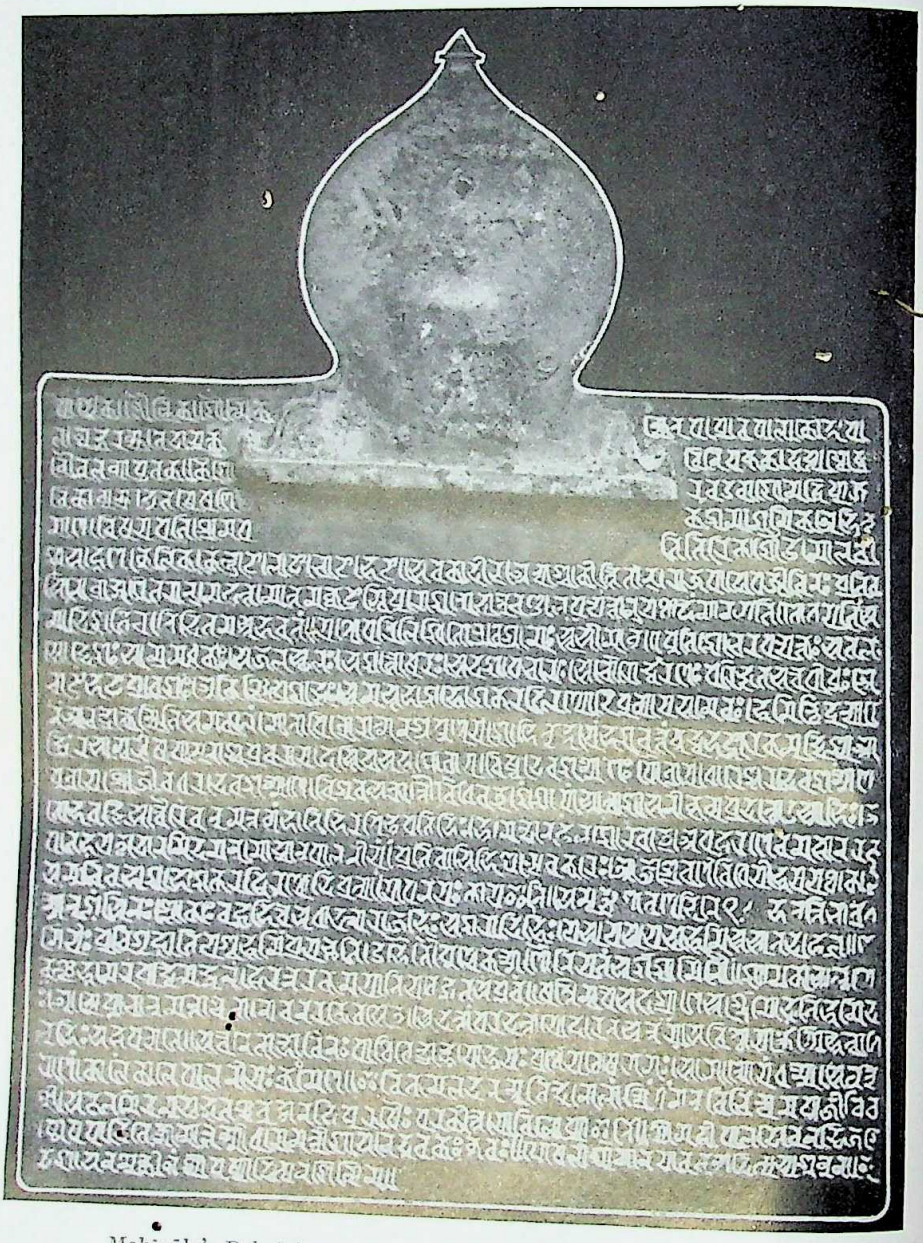

Mahipāla's Belwā inscription, back Photo : Imperial Art Cottage.

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Vigrahapāla's Belwā inscription : front Photo : Sri S. P. Sen.

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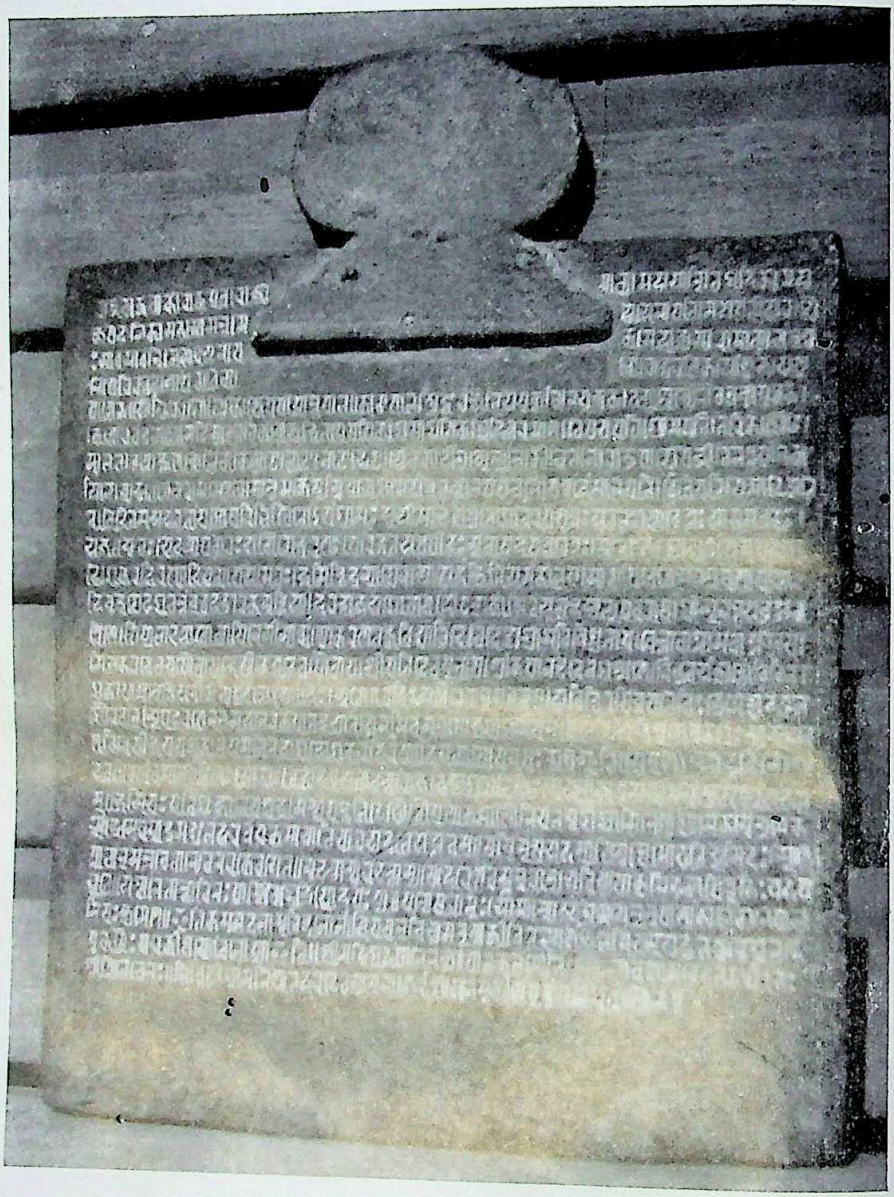

Vigrahapāla's Belwā inscription : back Photo : Sri S. P. Sen.

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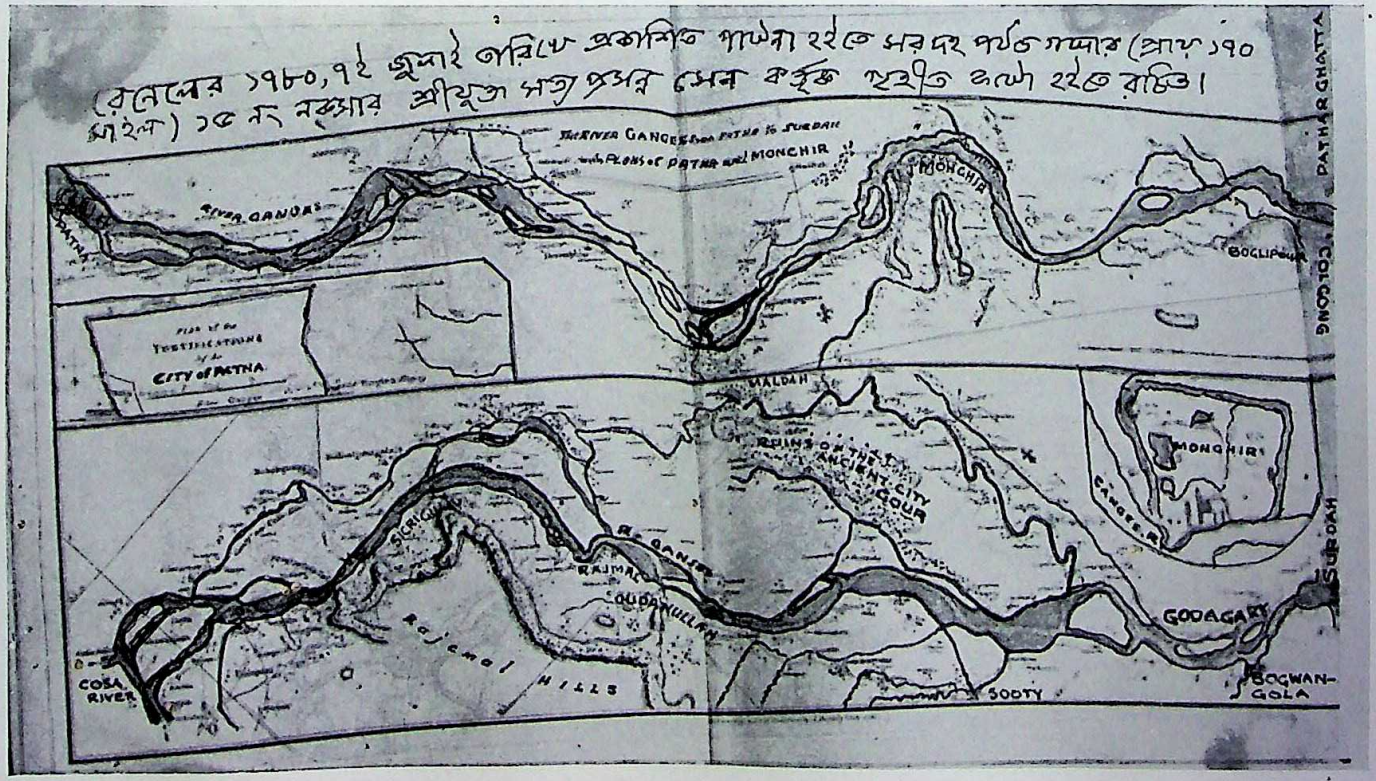

Photo by Sri S. P. Sen.

From Rennel's Map No. 15: the Ganges, from Patna to Sardah 170 Miles.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters
Volume XVII, No. 2, 1951.

THE JĀJILPĀRĀ GRANT OF GOPĀLA II, YEAR 6

By Sri Pramatha Nath Misra, *M.R.A.S. Hony. Secretary, Malda Museum,*
and
Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.*

(*Received April 29, 1949; after revision May 12, 1950*)

The copper-plate which bears this inscription was in possession of a cultivator of Jājilpārā, a village within police station Gazole and near the border of Malda and Dinajpur districts. He found it while digging the foundation of his mud-walled house, and kept it for about three years as an object of curiosity. Mr. K. C. Burman, M.A., purchased it from him and later on presented it to the Malda Museum, where it is being preserved at present. Thanks for this discovery are due to Mr. B. R. Sen, I.C.S., the District Magistrate of Malda, who was instrumental in starting the Museum, and to Mr. Burman, one of the most enthusiastic collectors of antiquities for the Museum. The grant was edited by Mr. K. C. Burman[1] and a short note on this plate was also published by Mr. J. C. Ghose.[2] We now re-edit it with a plate prepared from an estampage kindly supplied by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.

The record is incised on a single plate measuring 13′ 6″ long and 13′ broad with a circular seal attached to its upper part. The total length of the plate from the top of the seal is 18′ 6″. The **Seal**, which bears the name ŚRĪ-GOPĀLA-DEVA right across the centre, closely resembles that used in the Pāla royal grants since the time of Devapāla.

The plate is engraved on both sides. The obverse side is fully inscribed with 31 lines. Above the first line, which is divided into two parts by the royal seal, the single letter *ni* is twice written, once above *om*, the first letter, and again above *ya* the seventh from the end. Below the word *sva-sīmā-tṛṇa* in the last line are written '27×*ṣore*', meaning that. *ṣore* is to be supplied at the 27th line after the letter *ki* where there is a corresponding × mark, thus making the word *Kiṣore* (a misspelling for *Kiśore*). About 3/4″ to the proper right of this are again found 2 or 3 letters, apparently to supply some omission on the body of the plate. But unfortunately, the plate being slightly broken here, the letters cannot be read except the last one which looks like '*pa*'.

The reverse side of the plate contains 14 lines which cover a little more than half the face, leaving the rest blank with one line at the bottom. In the intervening space occur the words '4×*sa-brahma-cāriṇe*×'. The two cross-marks on either side mean that the word between these is to be supplied after the word *Vājasaneya* with a corresponding cross-mark in the 35th line (which is the 4th line of the second face).

The **alphabet** resembles that of the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I[3] and does not call for any special remark. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit

[1] Mr. Burman first wrote a short article in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarsha* (1343 B.S., *Chaitra*, p. 638), and next published the text of the grant with Bengali translation and an indistinct photograph in the same Journal (1344 B.S., *Śrāvaṇa*, p. 263).

[2] *Bhāratavarsha*, 1344 B.S., *Āśvina*, pp. 648–50.

[3] *E.I.*, XIV, 324.

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After *om svasti* at the beginning, there are ten verses giving the royal genealogy from Gopāla I to Gopāla II (ll. 1–16). Then follows the prose portion, containing the formal part of the grant, ending with the usual imprecatory verses, four in number, and two verses mentioning the *dūtaka* and the engraver of the plate. The grant was issued by the devout worshipper of Buddha, the *Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Gopāladeva (II), who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Rājyapāla, from the victorious camp at Baṭaparvvatikā in the year 6 (of the king's reign) and probably on the 11th day of Pauṣa.

The first six verses covering the genealogy up to Nārāyaṇapāla agree with the first, second, fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth verses of the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla,[1] with slight variation in the sixth verse of the present plate. Verses 3, 6, 8 and 9 of the Bhāgalpur grant are omitted in the present plate, obviously for the sake of abridgment. Verses 7–10 of the present plate deal with Rājyapāla and Gopāla II and are found in all the copper-plates of the later Pāla kings, with the exception of the Manahali plate of Madanapāla in which verses 9 and 10 are omitted, probably for the sake of abridgment.

The eighth verse of the present plate, which has long been known from the Bāngarh plate of Mahīpāla I, Āmgāchi plate of Vigrahapāla III [2], and Manahali plate of Madanapāla [3] was naturally taken by scholars to indicate a very long reign of Gopāla II. But in view of the fact that the same verse is found in this copper-plate, issued in the 6th year of his reign, that interpretation must be given up.

The tenth verse of the present plate, which corresponds to the 11th verse of the Bāngarh plate of Mahīpāla I and fourteenth verse of the Āmgāchi plate of Vigrahapāla III, is also of similar importance. This verse was interpreted by some scholars to indicate the wanderings of Vigrahapāla II in different regions after he had lost his ancestral dominions. But the occurrence of this verse in the present grant, as applying to Gopāla II (father of Vigrahapāla II), proves that this interpretation was certainly wrong. It has been suggested by Mr. Burman that this verse indicates the victorious campaign of Gopāla II in different parts of India, but as the verse is applied to several kings it can only be regarded as merely conventional.

This inscription definitely proves, if proof were necessary, that Gopāla II ruled over Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, or at least a part of it, in the 6th year of his reign.

This copper-plate was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* (camp of victory) named 'Baṭa-parvvatikā' (l. 20). The location of Baṭa-parvvatikā is not definitely known. One of us has already proposed to identify it with a place called 'Baṭeśvara-Parvata' near Pātharghāṭā (probably the site of the famous Vikramaśīla monastery established by Dharmapāla), situated on the right side of the Gaṅgā, a few miles above Teliagarhi and Sakrigali.[4] According to him, as all the four *Jayaskandhāvāras* of the Pāla kings before Gopāla II, viz. Pāṭaliputra, Mudgagiri, Vilāsapura and Haradhāma (?) were situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā, it is very likely this *Jayaskandhāvāra* of Gopāla II was also situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā as suggested.

The donee of the gift mentioned in ll. 35–37 is Śrīdhara Śarmā—a *Brahmachārin* of the Vājasaneya-*charaṇa*, belonging to the Kāśyapa

[1] *I.A.*, XV, 304.
[2] *E.I.*, XV, 293.
[3] *J.A.S.B.*, LXIX, Pt. I, p. 68.
[4] Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *Bhāratavarsha*, 1350 B.S., *Jyaiṣṭha*, p. 405.

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gotra and Kāśyapa, Avatsāra (?), and Naidhruba *Pravara*, student of Mādhyandina *Śākhā* (of the Śukla Yajurveda), reader, in three varieties, of the Sāma Veda,[1] grandson of the learned Nāga, and son of the learned Śrīgarbha. He was an inhabitant of Sīha-village, but originally belonged to Muktāvastu (village). The gift was made by the king in the name of Lord Buddha after bathing (in the Gaṅgā) on the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti* (Winter Solstice) (ll. 34, 37).

There is a village named 'Sihali' or 'Sihole' on the Gazole-Dinajpore road, in Banshihari police station, Dinajpore district. At present it is a very small hamlet, but according to the local tradition it was formerly a big village inhabited by a large number of learned Brāhmaṇas. Even now, some Varendra Brāhmaṇas reside in a village called Mahāgrām, about less than a mile from this village. It is situated on the south-eastern bank of the Tangan river and, as a result of the erosion of that river, foundations of many brick-built houses have been exposed to view. Its distance from the find-place of the present copper-plate is about 7 or 8 miles. It is probable that the site of this village represents the old 'Sīha' village. It may be mentioned here that Mr. J. C. Ghose had suggested the identification of 'Sīha' with a village named Sahagrām within police station Pārbatipur, in Dinajpur district, on the basis of similarity of names only. As regards Muktāvastu, Mr. J. C. Ghose has shown from several epigraphic records that it was situated in Varendra, and was an ancient place of residence of certain Brāhmaṇa families of Kāśyapa *gotra* to whom many kings of old had made gifts of land.[2]

The subject matters of the gift seem to be two *pallis* named 'Kāṣṭhagṛha' and 'Mahārāja',[3] along with prospective *dvārikādāna*, which probably denotes a tax or toll collected at the gates.[4] The two *pallis* were situated in the village of Ānandapura and evidently denote two units, sections, or quarters of it.[5] Ānandapura is described as an *agrahāra* in the Kuddālakhāta-*viṣaya* (District) and Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* (Division). Puṇḍravardhana is well known but the other two cannot be identified.

Attention may be drawn to the letter *ni* appearing twice at the top of the first side of the copper-plate, as noted above. The letter occurs exactly in the same places in the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla. Mr. Burman took it as an emblem of an auspicious sign or abbreviation

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[1] The original is *tṛpāṭipāṭhakāya* which should be corrected into *tṛpāṭhipāṭhakāya*. It probably means that he was conversant in reading the Sāma Veda in three varieties of reading of the Vedas, e.g. *Pada-pāṭha* (reading by words), *Saṁhitā-pāṭha* (reading of the whole mantra), and *Krama-pāṭha* (reading according to the sequence of the Vedic rites).

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] Note by Mr. Misra: 'I suggest the reading *koṣṭha-gṛha* (store-house) instead of *Kāṣṭha-gṛha*, and *Mahārāja-paṇika*, meaning articles of "royal commodities" (from *paṇika*—commodity purchased by *paṇa*, a variety of copper coin), instead of *Mahārāja-pallika*. But I realize that lines 31–37 of the text are hardly applicable to a store-house or commodities.'

[4] Cf. *dvāravāhirikādeyam* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. VI, p. 60.

[5] The word *pallikayo* seems to be in apposition to both *Kāṣṭhagṛha* and *Mahārāja*. *Pallikā* or *Palli* denotes both a village and a smaller section of it corresponding to modern Bengali *Pāḍā*. For example, the Bāngarh grant donates the village Kuraṭapallikā with the exception of Chūṭa-pallikā, which obviously denotes a small unit within the village. As the two donated *pallikās* in the present grant were situated in an *agrahāra*, which itself denotes a village (inhabited mainly or solely by the Brāhmaṇas), the latter meaning is more applicable than 'village' which is accepted by Mr. K. C. Burman. Besides, it should be remembered that where villages are granted their boundaries are generally specified, which is not the case here. For the nature of *agrahāra* village cf. P. K. Acharya, *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Ch. IX, vv. 163–216, and also *Kamikāgama*, a treatise on architecture, Ch. X, v. 3.

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of the word *nirdeśam*. There is, however, no doubt that it bears the same meaning as the letter *ni* in the Sena inscriptions, and Mr. N. G. Majumdar's view[1] that it is the abbreviated form of official endorsement seems to be the correct one.

The date of the inscription (l. 40) has been read by Mr. Burman as *Samvat* 6 *ārambha(h) Pauṣa-dine* 11. The two vertical strokes, read as 11, may, however, be signs of *Virāma* as used in other places in this plate. The sign for figure 1 is a curved, not a straight, vertical line and a comparison with figure for 1 in the Bāgiśvarī Stone inscription of Gopāla II would show that the reading 11 cannot be regarded as certain. Accordingly the date is to be interpreted as the first day (*ārambha*) of *Pauṣa*. On the other hand, the two strokes, denoting 11, in the Bālāditya Stone inscription of Mahīpāla[2] closely resemble those in the present plate, and the reading 11 cannot be, therefore, altogether dismissed as improbable. If we accept the reading 11, the date is to be interpreted as the sixth regnal year of Gopāladeva, which began on the 11th lunar *tithi* of *Pauṣa*. If we further consider that the grant was made on that day after the king had taken his bath on the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti*, the date would correspond, according to the calculation of Śrī Prabodh Chandra Sen, M.A., to December 22, 948 A.D., on which day the Sun entered into the sign of Makara at about 8-56 p.m. (I.S.T.). The accession of Gopāla II would, therefore, fall on December 22, 943 A.D.[3]

The name of the scribe's father is undoubtedly Maṅghadāsa and not Madyadāsa as read by Mr. Burman. He is undoubtedly to be identified with the scribe of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, whose name is clearly written as Maṅghadāsa. The name is correctly given in the text of the inscription in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, though in the introductory remarks he is referred to as Maṅkhadāsa. As the present plate was written at least 60 years after the Bhāgalpur plate, both Maṅghadasa and his son must have served for an unusually long period as royal scribes.

As practically the whole text has been translated into English in connection with the other Pāla inscriptions,[4] no translation is appended

Obverse.

नि नि

१। ॐ स्वस्ति। मैत्रौड्कारुण्यरत्नप्रमुदितहृदयः प्रेयसीं सन्दधानः

२। सम्यक्सम्बोधिविद्या-सरिदमल-जल-च्छालिताज्ञानपङ्कः। जित्वा यः काम-
कारिप्रभवमभिभवं प्राप्य प्राप्तिं स

३। श्रीमाल्लोक[5]नाथो जयति दश-
वलोऽन्यश्च गोपालदेवः॥[१][6] लक्ष्मी-जन्मनिकेतनं समकरो वोढुं क्षमः क्षाभरं
.पक्षच्छे-

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[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 59, p. 149, fn. 3.
[2] *J.P.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. IV, p. 105 and Pl.
[3] Note by Mr. Misra: 'According to the calculation made by my friend Śrī Tarakeshwar Bhattacharya, M.A., late of the Assam Educational Service, the *Pauṣa-saṅkrānti* took place on the 11th lunar *tithi* in A.D. 931, 935, and 954, among others. The accession of Gopāla II would accordingly fall in A.D. 925, 930, or 949 A.D. Of these the first was accepted by Mr. J. C. Ghose (*E.I.*, XXIV, 44), and I am inclined to agree with him.'
[4] Cf. e.g. *E.I.*, XIV, 328; XV, 298.
[5] Read *Śrīman-loka*.
[6] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

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४। दभयादुपस्थितवतामेकाश्रयो भूभृतां। मैर्य्यादा-परिपाल-
नैकनिरतः पौर्य्यालयोऽस्मादभूत् दुग्धाम्भोधि-विलास-
हासि-महिमा
५। श्रीधर्म्मपालो नृपः॥ [२][1] रामस्येव गृहीत-सत्यतपस स्तस्यानुरूपो गुणैः
सौमित्रे रुदपादि तुल्य-म-
हिमा वाक्पाल-नामानुजः। यः श्रीमान्नय-विक्र-
६। मैक-वसतिर्भ्रातुः स्थित[ः] प्रासने शून्याः प्रचुपताकिनीभि रक-
रो देकातपत्रा
७। दिग्नः॥ [३][2] तस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितै र्ज्जगतीं पुनानः पुत्रो बभूव विजयी
जयपालनामा। धर्म्मद्विषां प्रम-
८। थिता युधि देवपाले यः पूर्व्वजे भुवनराज्य-
सुखान्यनैषीत्॥ [४][3] श्रीमान विग्रहपाल स्तत्सूनु रजातप्रचु रिव
जातः। प्र-
९। चु-वनिता-प्रसाधन-विलोपि-विमलासि-जलधारः॥ [५][4] दिक्-
पालैः क्षिति-प[ा]लनाय[5] दधतं देहे विभक्तान् गुणान् श्रीमन्तं
जनयाम्बभूव तनयं
१०। नारायणं स प्रभुं। यः क्षौणी-पतिभिः शिरोमणिरुचा श्लिष्टाङ्घ्रि-पीठोपलं
न्यायोपात्त मलञ्चका-
११। र चरितैः खैरेव धर्म्मासनं॥ [६][6] तोयाग्नये र्ज्जलधि-
मूल-गभीर-गर्भै र्देवालयैश्च कुलभूधरतुल्य-कक्षैः। विख्यातकी-
र्त्ति रभवत्तनयश्च
१२। तस्य श्रीराज्यपाल इति मध्यमलोक-पालः॥ [७][7] तस्मात् पूर्व्व-क्षितिध्रान्निधि
रिव महसां राष्ट्रकूटान्वयेन्दो
१३। स्तुङ्गस्योत्तुङ्ग-मौले र्दुहितरि तनयो भाग्यदेव्यां
प्रसूतः। श्रीमान् गोपालदेव श्चिरतरमवने रेकपत्न्या इवैको भर्त्ता-
१४। भून्नैक-रत्नद्युति-
खचित-चतुः-सिन्धु-चित्रांशुकायाः॥ [८][8] यः स्वामिनं राजगुणै रनून-
मासेवते चारुतरानुरक्ता। उत्साह-म-

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[1] Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[2] Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[3] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*
[4] Metre: *Āryyā.*
[5] The engraver, for omission of allotment of sufficient space here, has indicated the *ā* sign in *pā* by a short upward stroke, and could not also distinctly engrave the letter *la.*
[6] Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*
[8] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

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१५। न्त-प्रभुशक्तिलक्ष्मी(ः) एत्यौं सपत्नी-
मिव श्लीलयन्ती ॥ [९][1] देशे प्राचि प्रचुर-पयसि स्वच्छ मापीय तोयं खैरं
भान्त्वा तदु(द)नु मलयोप-
१६। त्यका-चन्दनेषु। क्लान्त्वा सान्द्रै र्मरुभु[2] जडतां
श्लीकरै रभ्रतुल्याः प्रालेयाद्रेः कटा(ट)क मभजन् यस्य सेना-गजेन्द्राः ॥ [१०][3]
स खलु
१७। भागीरथी-पथ-प्रवर्त्तमान-नानाविध-नौवाटक-सम्पादित-सेतुबन्ध-
निर्हित-शैलशिखरश्रेणी-विभ्रमान्निरतिशयघन-घ-
१८। नाघन-घटा-श्यामायमान-
वासरलक्ष्मी-समारब्ध-सन्तत-जलदसमय-सन्देहात्। उदीचीनानेक-नरपति-
प्राभृतीकृता-प्र-
१९। मेय-हय-वाहिनी-खरखुरोत्खातधूलिधूसरितदिगन्तरालात्।
परमेश्वर-सेवा-समायाता-शेष-जम्बुद्वीप-भूपालानन्त-
२०। पादात-भर-नम-दवनेः। वट-
पर्व्वतिका-समावासित[4]-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्। परमसौगतो महाराजा-
धिराज-श्रीराज्यपालदे-
२१। व-पादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजा-
धिराजः श्रीमान् गोपालदेवः।[5] कुशली। श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्तौ कु-
२२। द्दालखात-विषय-
सम्बद्ध। आनन्दपुराग्रहारान्तःपाति। स्वसम्बद्धाविच्छिन्नतलोपेत कोष्ठ-
गृह। स सम्ब-
२३। द्धाविच्छिन्नतलोपेत-महाराज-पल्लिकयोः अत्रत्य[6] आभाव्य।
द्वारिकादान-समेतयोः समुपगताशेषराजपुरुषा-
२४। न्।[7] राजराजन्यक। राजपुत्र।
राजामात्य। महासान्धिविग्रहिक। महाक्षपटलिक। महासे-

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[1] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[2] In the Bāngarh and Āmgāchi plates the word has been read by some as *staruṣu* (vide *Gauḍa-Lekhamālā*, pp. 95, 126). But here it has been clearly written as *maruṣu*, showing that this is the correct reading in the other plates as suggested by Mr. Banerji (*E.I.*, XIV, 326, XV, 296).

[3] Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

[4] Instead of a clear *ā* sign after *ka*, *ma* and *va* there are short upward strokes which are often found to represent the medial *ā* sign in this plate. So, the word has been read as *kaṭaparvatikā-samāvāsita*.

[5] Here the letters *māngopāla* have been so closely engraved within a short space that it is hardly possible to recognize the vowel signs, and the letters also have become indistinct.

[6] Here the *visarga* sign is clear but a letter after that (probably *a*) is very indistinct.

[7] From here a short vertical stroke is used after the name of each official, etc., which may be distinguished from the longer vertical line representing the real fullstop, and has rather the significance of a comma.

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२५। नापति। महा-
प्रतिहार। दौस्साधसाधनिक। महादण्डनायक। राजस्थानीयोपरिक।
दाशापरा-

२६। धिक। चौरोद्धरणिक। दाण्डिक। दाण्डपाशिक। शौल्किक।
गौल्मिक। क्षेत्रप। प्रान्तपाल। कोट्टपाल। अ-

२७। ङ्गरक्ष। तदायुक्तक।
विनियुक्तक। हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र-नौबल-व्यापृतक। किशोर[1] बड़वा। गोमहिष्य-
जाविकाध्यक्ष।

२८। दूतप्रेषणिक। गमागमिक। अभित्वरमान। विषयपति।
ग्रामपति[2]। तरिक। गौड। मालव। खश। हूण।

२९। कुलिक। कर्णाट।
लाट। चाट। भट। सेवकादीन[3]न्यां श्चाकीर्त्तितान् राजपादोपजीविनः
प्रतिवासिनो

३०। ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्। महत्तमोत्तम पुरोग-मेदान्ध्र-चण्डाल-
पर्य्यन्तान्।[4] यथार्हम्मानयति। बोधयति। समा-

३१। दिशति च। विदितमस्तु
भवतां। यथोपरि-लिखितमेतत्। स्व-सीमातृण-पूति[5]-गोचर-पर्य्यन्तं।
सतलं। सोद्देशं।

३२। साम्रमधूकं। सजलस्थलं। सगर्त्तोषरं। सोपरिकरं।
सदशापचारं। सचौ[रो]द्धरणं। परिहृतसर्व्वपीडं। अ-

३३। चाट-भट-प्रवेशं।
अकिञ्चित्-प्रग्राह्यं समस्त-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यादि-प्रत्याय-समेतं। भूमि-
च्छिद्रन्यायेन। आ-

३४। चन्द्रार्क-क्षिति-समकालं यावत्। मातापित्रो रात्म-
नश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये। भगवन्तं बुद्ध-भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य।

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[1] After *ki śore* was left out and added later as *ṣore* at the bottom of the first side of the plate.

[2] After *Grāmapati* a word, containing four letters, has been rendered very indistinct. Perhaps the word was repeated through mistake and was purposely cancelled by the engraver.

[3] From *rājarājanyaka* in line 24 up to *sevakādīn* may be considered as one *pada* joined by *samāsa*.

[4] The letter *nta* is unnecessarily duplicated.

[5] This word, in majority of the Pāla plates, has been read as *yūti*. But in the present plate it is clearly *pūti*, and there is no difficulty in distinguishing between *pa* and *ya* as Mr. Burman thinks, if the letter *pa* is compared with *ya* in the next word *paryantam*. *Pūti tṛṇa* is a kind of grass, and the boundary visible up to such grass is probably meant here.

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३५। काश्यप-सगोत्राय
काश्यपावत्सार-नैध्रुव-प्रवराय बाजसनेय-सब्रह्मचारिणे[1] माध्यन्दिन-
शाखाध्यायिने। सामवेद-चिपा-
३६। टि(ठि)पाठकाय[2] मुक्तावस्तु-विनिर्गताय
सीह ग्राम-वास्तव्याय। भट्टपुत्र-नाग-पौत्राय भट्टपुत्र-श्रीगर्भ-पुत्राय
३७। भट्टपुत्र-
याज्ञिक-श्रीधरशर्म्मणे उत्तरायण-सं(स)क्रान्तौ स्नात्वा शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तं।
अतो भवद्भिः सर्व्वै रेवानुम-
३८। न्तव्यं। भाविभि रपि भूपतिभिः भूमे र्दानफल-
गौरवात्। अपहरणे च महानरक-पात-भयात्। दानमि-
३९। द मनुमोद्य
पालनीयं। प्रतिवासिभिश्च क्षेत्रकरै राज्ञाश्रवण-विधेयीभूय यथाकालं
समुचित-भाग-भो-
४०। ग-कर-हिरण्यादि सर्व्व-प्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य्य इति सम्बत् ६
आरम्भपौषदिने ॥[3] तथा धर्म्मानुशं-
४१। सिणः श्लोकाः। बज्झभि र्व्वसुधा दत्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [११][4]
४२। षष्टिं-
वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् ॥ [१२] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता-
४३। म्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां। स विष्ठायां
कृमि र्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [१३] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां
४४। श्रियमनु-
चिन्त्य मनुष्य-जीवितञ्च सकल मिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो
विलोप्याः ॥ [१४][5]
४५। श्रीमद्गोपालदेवेन द्विजश्रेष्ठोपपादिते। भट्ट श्रीमान्
प्रभासोत्र शासने दूतकः कृतः ॥ [१५]
४६। श्रीमद्विमलदासेन मङ्गदासस्य[6] सूनुना। इदं शासनमुत्कीर्णं सत्समतट-
जन्मना ॥ [१६][7]

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[1] This word was originally omitted and then added at the end of the text.
[2] *Vide* Introduction.
[3] For the interpretation of the two strokes after *dine*, *vide* Introduction.
[4] Vv. 11–13, 15, 16, Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.
[5] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.
[6] For the reading of the name of the scribe, *vide* Introduction.
[7] In separating component parts of a compound, the method followed in *Gauḍalekhamālā* has been adopted.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS CONCERNING FISH AND FISHERIES OF INDIA

3. Matsyavinōda or a chapter on Angling in the Mānasōllāsa by King Sōmēśvara (1127 A.D.)

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Introduction

In the two earlier articles of this series,[1] attention has been drawn to the fact that fish were kept in tanks for food purposes and were generally protected from molestation. Aśoka had prohibited the catching of fish even from tanks on certain specified days. In another article,[2] the gradual development of fisheries in irrigation tanks has been traced. I have been

[1] Hora, S. L.—'References to fish in Arthaśāstra (*circa* 300 B.C.)', *J.R.A.S.B., Science*, XIV, pp. 7–10 (1948); 'Fishery Legislation in Aśoka's Pillar Edict V (246 B.C.)', *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, XVI, pp. 43–56 (1950).

[2] Hora, S. L.—'Maintenance of Irrigation Tanks through Fishery Revenue in ancient India.' *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, XVII, pp. 41–50.

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looking for an ancient work devoted solely to some aspect of fisheries and it is with great pleasure that I now present, with detailed commentary, the chapter on Matsyavinōda in King Sōmēśvara's *Mānasōllāsa*. Though the object of this chapter is to show how a king could derive pleasure from the sport of angling, there is an enumeration in it of a large variety of fishes classified according to habits and habitats. The method of fattening some of them is given. The reed best suited for making a rod and the relative value of various fibres used for making a line are indicated. The material, shape and form of the hook are described. Though this is not a work of very great antiquity, having been written in the early part of the 12th century A.D., it is fairly ancient all the same. As considerable attention is now being paid to foster pond culture practices all over South-East Asia, it is hoped that the traditional knowledge embodied in this work will be of some use to development officers for increasing fish-food supplies.

I am indebted to my cousin, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, for the translation of the Sanskrit text and for help in working out the etymological meanings of the names of fishes. Dr. B. C. Law helped me financially for engaging a Sanskrit scholar for day to day assistance in the determination of the fish-names. He himself worked out their etymology, for which I am deeply indebted to him. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the help I have received from Sri C. Sivaramamurti, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, who spared no pains to elucidate a number of difficult points. To Mr. K. S. Srinivasan, Curator, Industrial Section, Indian Museum, I am obliged for the identification of the plants and their parts used as food of fish, fibres for making lines or twigs for use as rods. For any shortcomings in this article, the author alone is responsible. I need not emphasize once again that in building up the cultural or scientific history of India, it is most essential to set up an organization where scientists of knowledge and vision can work in collaboration with learned orientalists to unravel the traditional knowledge of India and expand it through scientific understanding for the good of mankind as a whole.

King Sōmēśvara, the author of Mānasōllāsa[1]

King Sōmēśvara was the son of King Vikramāṅka or Vikramāditya VI, the greatest of the later *Chāḷukyas*, who patronized learning and literature which flourished during his reign. Sōmēśvara ascended the throne about A.D. 1126 and ruled for 12 years. The *Mānasōllāsa* was composed by him in 1127. It is a work of encyclopaedic nature. Some scholars have expressed doubts about Sōmēśvara being the author of this, but instances are not rare in Indian history where kings, besides being warriors, were great poets, philosophers, engineers, administrators and patrons of letters. Reference may here be made to King Bhōja of Dhārā and King Harsha who were poets. We know that Rituparṇa was an expert in gambling and chess, Nala in the science of horses and chariot driving, Bhīma in cooking, Nakula in the study of cattle, Arjuna in dancing and Udayana on the lute and so forth. The Gupta monarch Samudragupta was an adept on the Vīṇā. The Pallava King Mahēndravarman of the 7th century A.D. was a great composer, dramatist, architect, engineer, musician and a great ruler as well. It is not fair, therefore, to deny the

[1] In writing this section of the paper, I have mainly relied on a note supplied to me by Sri C. Sivaramamurti and on the material contained in Shrigondekar's preface to the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, publication No. XXVIII (Baroda, 1925) entitled *Mānasōllāsa*, Vol. I.

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authorship of the *Mānasōllāsa* to Sōmēśvara. The king seems to have written another book *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya*, only an incomplete manuscript of which is now known to exist.

Shama Sastri[1] writes about the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* or the Mānasōllāsa as follows:—

> 'Whoever might be the author, whether Sōmadēva III of the *Chāḷukyas* as stated in the work, or a Pandit in his service, this much is certain that the information furnished in some detail on such subjects as drawing, painting, iconography, cooking, gardening, cock-fighting and the like had been obtained from specialists[2] in those professions and expressed in Sanskrit verses in the work.'

The chapter on angling, with which this paper deals, shows details unrivalled even in modern works on this pleasant pastime. Sōmēśvara was a liberal-minded and tolerant king; for, though professing Hinduism, he encouraged Jainism as well. It may be added that Sōmēśvara had the title of *Sarvajña-chakravartin*, 'the omniscient emperor' or 'the emperor among all-knowing'. This would show that he had acquired a knowledge of many arts and sciences. So his authorship of the work need not be doubted.

The Text of 'Matsyavinōda' in Sōmēśvara's Mānasōllāsa

मानसोल्लासः

अध्यायः १४ विंशतिः ४

अग्रे मत्स्यविनोदोऽयं कीर्त्यते राजवल्लभैः ।
मत्स्याः स्युर्बहुजातीया गणनागोचरा न ते ॥ 1381 ॥
तथापि कियतो वक्ष्ये विनोदेषूपयोगिनः ।
ते च ज्ञात्वा द्विधा ज्ञेयाश्चर्मजाः शल्कजा इति ॥ 82 ॥
प्रत्येकं ते द्विधा प्रोक्ताः स्थूलसूक्ष्मविभेदतः ।
द्रुमचर्मपिनद्धाङ्गाश्चर्मजाः शल्कवर्जिताः ॥ 83. ॥
शल्कशुक्तिपिनद्धाङ्गाः शल्कजास्ते प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
केचित्समुद्रसंभूताः केचिन्नद्युद्भवा अपि ॥ 84 ॥
तेषां नामानि वक्ष्यामि संक्षेपेण निबोधत ।
सोरश्च शृङ्गसोरश्च चंविलोचो बलस्तथा ॥ 85 ॥
कण्टकारः सङ्कुचकश्चर्मजाः सागरोद्भवाः ।
कोवासकः खिरीडश्च पाठीनः सिंहतुण्डकः ॥ 86 ॥
एते मत्स्याः महाकायाश्चर्मजा निम्नगोद्भवाः ।
पाटलः (ल) पिच्छकस्त्वेकस्तथान्यो लन्तपाटलः ॥ 87 ॥

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[1] The *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, Part I, No. 69 (1926) of the Sanskrit Series of the University of Mysore, intro. p. xxiii.

[2] In Matsyavinōda, Sōmēśvara admits that in several items he had the advice of experts.

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मध्यकायाविमौ मत्स्यौ नदीजौ चर्मसम्भवौ ।
गार्गधरो गोज्जलश्चैव विद्रुवश्च तथापरः ॥ 88 ॥
मत्स्यः कण्ठरयश्चेति स्वल्पकाया नदोद्भवाः ।
पण्डिमानो महाकायः शुल्काजाः सागरोद्भवाः ॥ 89 ॥
पल्लकस्तोमरश्चेति मध्यकायौ समुद्रजौ ।
महाशीलः कल्हवश्च नाडको बडिशस्तथा ॥ 1390 ॥
वटगिश्च महाकायाः सशुल्काः सरिदुद्भवाः ।
रोहितः स्वर्णमीनश्च तथा खण्डालियोऽपरः ॥ 91 ॥
मध्यकायाः सशुल्कास्ते बलवन्तो नदीचराः ।
मरिलस्तुम्बयो वाद्धि शुल्काजा मध्यविग्रहाः ॥ 92 ॥
एते चयो न खादन्ति पिष्टि(ष्ट)मामिषभोजिनः ।
कौरव्यश्च महानद्या सङ्गतस्य महीभृतः ॥ 93 ॥
षट् सप्तयोजने(नं) यावन्नदीमायाति सागरात् ।
गम्भीरेषु विशालेषु ह्रदेषु विलसन्ति ते ॥ 94 ॥
तेषां सङ्कटगे स्थानमिदमेव न सागरः ।
नद्यां कर्दमहीनायां सशिलायां भवन्ति ते ॥ 95 ॥
कोवाकीया महाकायाः सशुल्का मध्यजातयः ।
शिला सङ्कटके स्थाने गम्भीरे कोरकादयः ॥ 96 ॥
वालुकाबद्धले तोये गम्भीरे रोहितादयः ।
सपङ्के च सुविस्तीर्णे प्रवाहरहिते ह्रदे ॥ 97 ॥
पाठीनप्रमुखा मत्स्या निवसन्ति सकच्छपाः ।
पाषाणप्रान्तविवरे नाभिदघ्नोदके तथा ॥ 98 ॥
घोण्यरस्तुम्बरो वामौ निवसन्ति निजेच्छया ।
ह्रदशीर्षे तथा चान्ते मध्ये वा सङ्कटस्थले ॥ 99 ॥
वक्रस्थले वा द्वीपे वा सायं प्रातश्च चारयेत् ।
तिलानां पललं पिण्डी लाजानां चूर्णमेव च ॥ 1400 ॥
भर्जितं चणपिष्टं च भक्तकेन समन्वितम् ।
बिल्वमात्रान् कृतान् गोलान् कल्क(ल्ल)वादींश्च चारयेत् ॥ 1 ॥
चूर्णकं सिच्(क्य)कैर्युक्तं जलमध्ये च लोडयेत् ।
तिलानां पललैः कण्वैरोदनेन विमिश्रितैः ॥ 2 ॥

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बदरीमात्रकान् गोलान् चारयेद्रोहितादिकान् ।
भृष्टकौसुम्भचूर्णेन भक्तकैः सह सक्तुभिः ॥ 3 ॥
चारयेद्दडिशान् मत्स्यान् पिण्डानाम्रफलाकृतीन् ।
बिल्वपत्राणि सङ्गोप्य सक्तुकेन समन्वितं(तान्) ॥ 4 ॥
धात्रीफलमितान् पिण्डान् चारयेगिरंन्(त्प्रकिरन्) बुधः ।
तिलीकाकालखण्डानि कौवकांश्चारयेत्सुधीः ॥ 5 ॥
पूतिगन्धीनि मांसानि पाठीनमपि चारयेत् ।
धिचकांश्चारयेत्तज्ज्ञः सिंहतुण्डाभिधान्झषान् ॥ 6 ॥
मरलीं चारयेद्यत्नाद्वीवरः कर्कटामिषम् ।
भृष्टमूषिकमांसानि चारयेत्कच्छपान् बुधः ॥ 7 ॥
भूलवा(ताः) क्षुद्रमत्स्यांश्च चारयेदामिषं वतो(तु तान्) ।
तडागपालिपादेशे जलाहरणतीर्थके ॥ 8 ॥
अनेनैव प्रकारेण चारयेद्यत्नतो झषान् ।
एवं वा(चा)रितमत्स्यैश्च चारकैः पृथिवीपतिः ॥ 9 ॥
विज्ञप्तस्तान्समाकृष्टुं पश्येद्रज्जूंश्च यष्टिकाः ।
मूर्वाकन्दुकयोर्वल्कैः सुदृढैरर्कवल्कलैः ॥ 1410 ॥
कार्पासतन्तुभिः श्लक्ष्णैः कारयेद्दोरिका वराः ।
तत्र मूर्वा(र्वे)भवाः श्रेष्ठा मध्यमाः कटकार्जका(न्दुकार्कजाः) ॥ 11 ॥
कार्पासजाः कनिष्ठाः स्युर्दार्ढ्यभेदाद्यथाक्रमम् ।
स्थूला मध्याश्च सूक्ष्माश्च त्रिगुणाश्च समायताः ॥ 12 ॥
श्लक्ष्णाश्च दोरिकास्तज्ज्ञः कुर्यादङ्गुलवर्त्तिकाः ।
क्षा(व्या)मानं द्वे शते तज्ज्ञः प्रमाणं परमावधि ॥ 13 ॥
नैव व्यामदया(य)हीनां कुर्याद्रज्जुं प्रमाणतः ।
चूतवृत्त(न्त)शलाकान्तः स्था(स्थौ)ल्ये प्रोक्त(क्तः) परोऽवधिः ॥ 14 ॥
हयकेशप्रमाणोऽयं तनुत्वे परमोऽवधिः ।
वैणवा(वी) शस्यते यष्टिर्भूतलादुद्गता तु या ॥ 15 ॥
शाखा वा कण्टकाकारा माडशाखाथ वा भवेत् ।
सरटस्य तु पुच्छेन सदृशी क्रमकाश्शुतः ॥ 16 ॥
आसन्नपर्वसंयुक्ता नीरन्ध्रा पत्त्रवंशजा ।
षडङ्गुलपरीणाहा(हो) मूलदेश(शे) परोऽवधिः ॥ 17 ॥

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स्थूलयष्टेः कनिष्ठा स्यात्त(यात्त)दर्धं स्यात्परोऽवधिः ।
नातिदीर्घा नातिह्रस्वा ग्रन्थिला नैव नो दृढा ॥ 18 ॥
यष्टिः प्रशस्यते तज्ज्ञैर्वेणवी मत्स्यकर्षणे ।
दशाङ्गुलपरीमाणा माडशाखासमुद्भवा ॥ 19 ॥
क्रमात्तन्वी वरा यष्टिः स्यादसंहतपर्विका ।
गालमङ्कुशवक्रं स्यात्तथाश्वखुरच(व)क्रकम् ॥ 1420 ॥
माकन्दफलवक्रं च म(क)र्कटाकार(व)क्रकम् ।
तीक्ष्णाश्च(क्ष्णां च) ततविंशेण लोहेन घटितं दृढम् ॥ 21 ॥
स्थूलमूलं च सूक्ष्माग्रं कण्टकेन समन्वितम् ।
रज्जुबन्धनदेशस्तु वृत्तो वा फलकाकृतिः ॥ 22 ॥
निम्नमध्यस्तु कर्त्तव्यो बडिशस्य(शः स)तु धीमता ।
स्थूलरज्जुं स्थूलयष्टौ न बध्नीयात्तनुं तनौ ॥ 23 ॥
नीरमीनप्रमाणेन स्थौल्यं दैर्घ्यं च कल्पयेत् ।
रज्जुप्रमाणा(णां) बडिशं रज्जोरग्रे निबन्धयेत् ॥ 24 ॥
मयूरपिच्छकाण्डं तु रज्जुमध्ये निवेशयेत् ।
यष्टिमूले तथा चान्यां रज्जुं दीर्घां च योजयेत् ॥ 25 ॥
पुच्छवत्कल्पयेत्तज्ज्ञैर्यष्टि(ज्ज्ञो यष्टिं)मोहनहेतवे ।
यस्य यद्रोचते पक्षे पिष्टमामिषमेव वा ॥ 26 ॥
बडिशाग्रे तदासज्जं चारस्थाने विनिक्षिपेत् ।
विक्षेप (वीक्षेत) पिच्छकाण्डं तदेकाग्रमनसा नृपः ॥ 27 ॥
यदा स्पृशति तन्मीनो बाडिशं भक्षयेच्च तं(तत्) ।
यदा चलति य(त)द्वेदं तदाऽऽया(घा)तं प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 28 ॥
मांसाशिनां तथा मग्रे(मग्नो) चलने पिष्टभोजिनाम् ।
गालप्रोतो यदा मत्स्यो भवेच्च प्रबलायते ॥ 29 ॥
बलहीनं तु (त)माकर्ष व (र्षेद्व)लिष्ठो यष्टिमुत्सृजेत् ।
शनैः शनैस्तमाकर्षेद्रज्जुस्त्रुट्यति नो यथा ॥ 1430 ॥
यष्टिमोक्षे समाकर्षेत्पुच्छरज्जुं प्रगृह्य वा ।
एवं मत्स्यविनोदोऽयं नामरूपादिभेदतः ॥ 31 ॥
भूलोकमल्लदेवेन वर्णितः पृथिवीभुजा ।
प्रमोदाय विनोदोऽयं नाम मत्स्यसमाश्रयः ॥ 32 ॥
कथितः सोमभूपेन वक्ष्यते मृगयाश्रयैः ॥

॥ इति मत्स्यविनोदः ॥ 98 ॥

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The Translation of 'Matsyavinōda' in Sōmēśvara's Mānasōllāsa.[1]

I give below a translation of 'Matsyavinōda', with comments, based on modern scientific understanding, on the views expressed by Sōmēśvara.

Hereafter is described the pastime of angling which is greatly favoured by kings.[2] *Fishes are of many kinds: they defy enumeration.*[3] (*1381*)

Still, I shall describe some, especially those that are common in the sport of angling. They can be divided into two types: those that are scaly and those that are scaleless.[4] (*1382*)

Each of these two types may further be divided into two classes: those that are fat and those that are lean.[5] *Scaleless are those that have the skin as tight as the bark of a tree.* (*1383*)

Those that have scales as bright as shells on their bodies are called scaly. Then again, some are found in the sea, while some others occur in rivers.[6] (*1384*)

To mention some by name,[7] *Sōra,*[8] *Śṛiṅgasōra, Chaṁvilōcha, Bala.* (*1385*)

Kaṇṭakāra and Saṅkuchaka: these are scaleless fishes that are found in the sea. Kōvāsaka, Khirīḍa, Pāṭhīna and Siṁhatuṇḍaka (*1386*)

These are large-sized scaleless fishes that occur in rivers. Pāṭalapichchhaka and Dantapāṭala (*1387*)

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[1] Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra very kindly supplied me with both literal and free translations of the verses comprising the Matsyavinōda section of Sōmēśvara's *Mānsōllāsa*. My grateful thanks are due to him for his painstaking work.

[2] It is a pastime that requires a great deal of patience and time, and is an expensive hobby worthy of rich people with leisure.

[3] Tropical waters are generally very rich in the varieties of fish, though, unlike the northern temperate waters, individuals of each species do not form large populations. It is estimated that there may be 2,500 to 3,000 marine and 800 to 1,000 fresh-water fishes in Indian Waters. No up-to-date work on Indian fish fauna is at present available.

[4] The division of fishes into scaly and scaleless varieties is of great antiquity in Indian literature. The Sanskrit name *śalkin*, a synonym for fish, meaning scaly, testifies to this ancient division.

[5] The division of fishes into 'fat' and 'lean' is based on their nutritive values and is in common use even at the present time in marketing circles. The 'lean' fishes are Bhekti, Carp, Cat-fishes, etc., whereas Hilsa and other Clupeoid fishes are termed as 'fat'. The 'lean' fishes are light to digest while the 'fat' fishes are heavy to digest and may cause stomach trouble if eaten in excess. 'Lean' fishes are easy to salt and smoke and do not deteriorate quickly whereas 'fat' fishes are difficult to process well and deteriorate more rapidly.

[6] This corresponds to the modern usage of Marine and Inland fish and fisheries of any country.

[7] The identification of fishes named in this work has been as difficult as the identification of fossils known from very fragmentary remains. As will be seen from the table on pp. 156–161, use has been made of the internal evidence regarding the habits and habitats of fishes and of the etymological meanings of the names employed for different kinds. The geographical boundary of the Western *Chāḷukya* territories (see map, next page) during the reign of Sōmēśvara's father has also been taken into consideration. It will be seen from the accompanying map that this kingdom comprised the Gōdāvarī and Kistna watersheds and extended to both the Eastern and Western coasts of India. Faunistically, this kingdom comprised all the principal food fishes of India. For the fresh-water northern species, the Godavari watershed forms the geographical limit of their distribution, while all varieties of conditions for marine fishes were present in this kingdom. The identification has been made more difficult by the fact that Sanskrit, Marathi, Tamil, Canarese and Telugu names are mixed up in this work.

[8] For the identification of fishes enumerated here, reference may be made to the table on pages 156–161.

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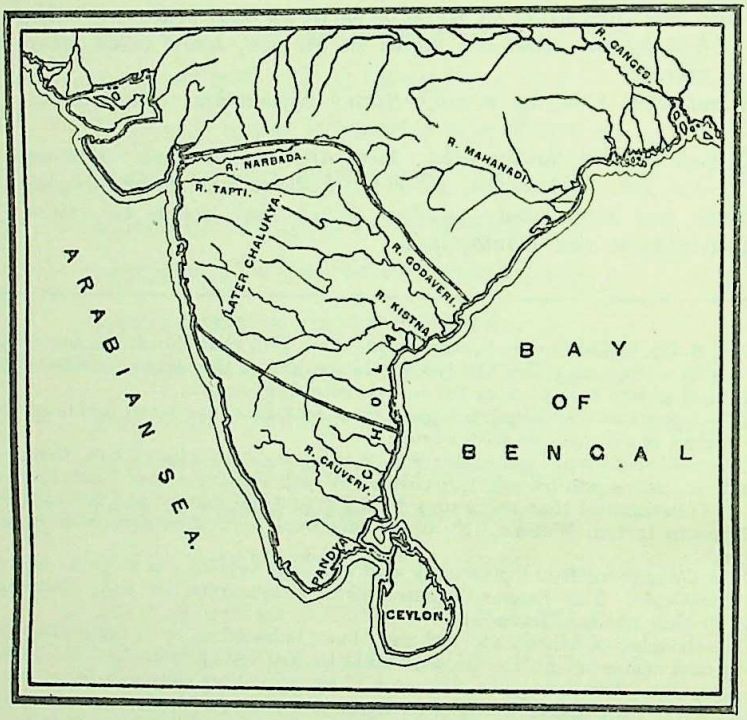
these two are medium-sized scaleless river fishes. Gāgdhara, Gojjala, Vidruva (*1388*)
and Kaṇṭharaya: these are small-sized river fishes. Paṇḍimāna is among the large-sized scaly marine fishes.[1] (*1389*)
Pallaka and Tōmara: these two are medium-sized marine fishes. Mahāśīla,[2] *Kahlava, Nāḍaka, Baḍiśa* (*1390*)
and Vaṭagi: these are big-sized scaly river fishes. Rōhita, Svarṇamīna and Khaṇḍālipa (*1391*)
These are medium-sized scaly powerful river fishes. Marila,[3] *Tumbaya and Vāñchi*[4] *are medium-sized scaly fishes.* (*1392*)



Map showing the geographical boundary of the territory under the rule of King Sōmeśvara's father, King Vikramāṅka or Vikramāditya VI, the greatest of the later Western Chāḷukyas. (*See* footnote 7, p. 151.)

[1] Dr. Chhabra points out that the original text is a bit confusing here. The original has *Paṇḍimānō mahākāyaḥ śalkajāḥ sāgarōdbhavāḥ*, meaning 'The large-sized Paṇḍimāna are scaly marine fishes'. The confusion lies in this that the author mentions only one name in singular, whereas he ends the sentence in plural, saying *śalkajāḥ*, etc. There may, in fact, be no confusion, as by the name he refers to a class of fishes, while his plural has a reference to number within that class.

[2] Mahāśīla is probably a mistake for Mahāśīrsha or Mahāśiras, which would thus correspond to the most famous Indian sport fish Mahsīr or Mahshīr *Barbus* (*Tor*) *tor* Hamilton and the allied forms. *B. Ch. Chhabra.*

[3] Marila is most probably identical with Maralī of verse 1407. *B. Ch. Chhabra.*

[4] The form Vāñchi, as it occurs in this verse, is ungrammatical. Obviously Tumbaya and Vāñchi are identical with Tumbara and Vāmin of verse 1399. *B. Ch. Chhabra.*

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These three do not eat flour (preparations). They are meat-eaters. Along the mountain bordering the Mahānadī,[1] *Kaurattha* (1393)
comes six to seven yōjanas from the sea to the river. They reside in large deep pools. (1394)

This itself, and not the sea, is the place where to catch them. They live in the river where there is rocky bottom and rocky sides and no mud. (1395)

Kōvākīya is a large-sized scaly fish which spends part of its life in the sea and part in rivers. They live in deep waters studded with rocks. Kōraka and the like fish (1396)
live in deep and sandy waters. Rōhita and the like fish live in large stagnant muddy pools. (1397)

Pāṭhīna and the like fish live along with turtles in the cavities of rock in navel-deep waters. (1398)

Thōgyara, Tumbara and Vāmin: these fishes live in a pool, and move at their own sweet will, either at the surface, near the banks or in the centre of it, in turbulent waters (1399)
in the bends of the lakes or in a sheltered island.

Now about feeding the fish.[2] *One should feed them both in the evening and in the morning. Their food consists of the following things: Cakes and balls of Sesamum seeds,*[3] *powdered or parched rice, and* (1400)
flour of parched gram mixed with cooked rice.

Make balls of the size of a wood-apple[4] *and feed Kahlava and the like fish on them.* (1401)

Powdered with oily substances, the stuff should be thrown in the water and the water then stirred.

The sesamum-cake and seed preparation mixed with cooked rice (1402)
make balls of the size of a plum[5] *and feed Rōhita and the like fish on them.*

With the powder of parched safflower[6] *and flour of parched barley both mixed with cooked rice* (1403)
make balls of the size of a mango[7] *and feed the Baḍiśa fish on them.*

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[1] As will be seen from the map on page 152, the Mahānadī was outside the kingdom of Sōmēśvara. The observations made here about the fish Kaurattha leave little doubt that they refer to the anadromous Indian Shad or Hilsa (*vide* Hora, *J.R.A.S.B., Science*, VI, pp. 93–112, 1941). In the Ganges, the fish ascends as high up as Kanpur, Agra and Delhi and in the Mahānadī it also goes up fairly high. The fish, however, cannot ascend fast waters and gather together below such obstruction. Hilsa also ascends the Gōdāvari and Kistna rivers but it is strange that this fact is not recorded by Sōmēśvara. Rocky bottom and rocky sides are not necessary for Hilsa. In fact, its fishery is mostly in muddy rivers when the waters are full of silt. Shri S. K. Saraswati thinks that the reading of this verse is corrupt and hardly makes sense.

[2] For increasing production of fish in ponds, artificial feeding of fish is practised in Central Europe, Palestine, Malaya and China, but it is usually not done in India. Schemes for determining suitable artificial foods for the principal carps were encouraged by the Imperial (now Indian) Council of Agricultural Research without yielding any practical results. It is, therefore, remarkable to find that in 1127 the practice of artificial feeding was already known in India.

[3] The botanical name is *Sesamum indicum* D.C. (Family: Pedaliaceae).

[4] Wood-apple is *Feronia elephantum* Correa. The fruit attains a diameter of 2½ inches, and the pulp is edible.

[5] The diameter is usually ½″ to ¾″. *Prunus communis* Huds. and *P. domestica*.

[6] Safflower is *Carthamus tinctorius* Linn. It is known that the seeds are used as food and poultry fatten on them.

[7] As there are many varieties of mangoes, both large and small, it is difficult to specify any size here. In practice, it is known that balls of cooked rice (*Piṇḍa*) of

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Take leaves of the wood-apple tree. Crush them and mix them with parched barley. (1404)

Make balls as big as an āmla fruit,[1] *and let the expert feed the fish by scattering them*

The expert should feed the Kauvāka fish[2] *on the bits of lungs and hind muscles.* (1405)

One should feed the Pāthīna fish on bits of foul smelling meat. The expert should feed the Simhatuṇḍa fish on Dhichakas.[3] (1406)

The fisherman should take care that he feeds the Maralī fish on the flesh of crabs.

The expert should feed turtles on the roasted meat of mice.[4] (1407)

One should feed the small fishes on earthworms.[5] *On the steps or the banks of tanks from where water is taken* (1408)

One should take care that one feeds the fish in the manner detailed above.

The royal attendants, having thus fed the fishes, should go and inform the king. (1409)

Being thus informed, he should see to the cords and rods used for angling. With the strong (fibres) drawn from mūrvā,[6] *kanduka*[7] *or arka*[8] (1410)

or with the fine threads of cotton he should get lines made. The best strings are those that are made of mūrvā fibres. Those made of kanduka or arka are of the second quality. (1411)

Those made of cotton threads are of the poorest quality. This distinction is made with reference to the strength of the fibres. They are further of three types: thick, of medium thickness, and fine. They are three-ply, long (1412)

and soft to touch. The expert should make such strings by turning on fingers. Their utmost length should be two hundred Vyāmas.[9] (1413)

In no case should one make a string shorter than two Vyāmas. The extreme thickness of a fishing line may be as much as that of the stalk[10] *between the mango fruit and the twig to which it is attached.* (1414)

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the size of an ordinary mango (i.e. that which could be comfortably held within the upturned hollowed portion of the palm, with the fingers resting apart in their normal position, without any voluntary muscular action) are thrown into the water.

[1] Āmla is *Phyllanthus emblica* Linn. (Goose-berry). The fruits are more or less globular and about one inch in diameter.

[2] Kauvāka may be identical with Kōvākīya of verse 1396.

[3] According to Dr. Chhabra, this is an unfamiliar word. Mr. Srinivasan has not been able to find any botanical significance in it. Probably some animal food is referred to in it, for *Bagarius bagarius* (Ham.) is a carnivorous fish. It is suggested that it may mean aquatic animals.

[4] This is a good use of the meat of mice. Probably the meat could be suitably processed for the use of poultry and other varieties of carnivorous fishes.

[5] The use of earthworm for feeding aquarium fishes is well-known. Carp-Minnows are caught with bits of earthworm used as bait.

[6] According to Mr. Srinivasan, Muruva or Mūrvā is the popular Bow-string Hemp, *Sansevieria Zelanica* Willd. and *S. Roxburghii*. It is a stemless bush, with perennial roots, with a rosette of succulent leaves which are radical. It is possible that because of this habit, it is usually referred to as a creeper. The fibres are obtained from succulent leaves and possess elasticity. The fibre is pliant, soft and silky. It is much used for the preparation of cordage and matting. It is much valued in Europe for ropes used in deep-sea dredgings.

[7] Kanduka is probably Kandula of the Maratti and refers to the plant *Sterculia urens* (Roxb.). This is a valuable fibre-yielding plant. The fibres are good and strong, and much used for rope making.

[8] Arka is *Calotropis gigantea* R. Br. This yields a rich white fibre from the bark.

[9] One Vyāma = one and a half yards.

[10] The stalk of mango fruit may be from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch in diameter.

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The extreme thinness of the fishing line is as much as that of the hair of a horse ('s tail).

As for the rod, the one made of bamboo, sprung from the earth, is the best. (1415)

Or it may be spike-shaped branch. It may be a branch of the Māḍa tree.[1] *It should be gradually tapering like the tail of a lizard.* (1416)

If it is made of a side shoot of bamboo, its joints should be close to one another and it should not be hollow inside.

Six fingers is the extreme circumference at the bottom (1417)

if the rod be a thick one. Half of that would be the extreme circumference if the rod is a small one.

Neither very long nor very short, neither very supple nor very stiff, (1418)

a rod of bamboo, is considered by the experts to be the most suitable for fishing.

Ten fingers in circumference, made of the branch of the māḍa tree (1419)

a rod, gradually tapering and with joints not close to one another, is good (too).

As for the hook,[2] *it may be curved like a goad or like the hoof of a horse,* (1420)

it may be curved like a mango, or may be crab-shaped. Made of iron, it should be sharp and with a wide open mouth. (1421)

Its base should be thick and point thin. It must have a spike. That part where the cord is tied may be rotund or flat. (1422)

The expert should make a fishing hook in such a way that it has a bend in the centre.

One should not simply tie a thick cord to a thick rod or a thin cord to a thin rod. (1423)

One should determine the length and thickness by taking into consideration the depth of the water and the size of fish.

One should attach to one end of the cord a fishing hook the size of which should be consistent with the length of the cord. (1424)

A peacock feather should be tied in the middle of the cord. At the base of the rod another long cord should be tied. (1425)

For the purpose of attracting (the fish), the expert should make the rod and line appear like a tail (tapering to a point). Flour or meat, whatever is liked by a particular fish, should then be put on the hook as a bait, (1426)

having attached that to the hook, one should throw it at the place where usually food is thrown (to the fish).

The king should then keep looking at the feather attentively. (1427)

As soon as the fish touches that bait and begins to eat it and there is movement (of the feather), he (the king or the angler) should strike (give a sharp pull). (1428)

The movement of feather in case of meat-eating fishes is different from that in the case of flour-eating ones.

When a fish gets entangled on the fishing hook, it becomes very vigorous. (1429)

(*Continued on page 162.*)

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[1] In Sanskrit, the mango tree is also known as Madhu-dūt. The Cocoanut tree is known in Maratti as Mada and in Telugu Mada is the name for a Mangrove tree called *Avicennia*. The branches of the mango and cocoanut trees are not very strong and so it is likely that a reference is made to the Mangrove tree.

[2] The word for hook used in the text is *gālam*. This is apparently the Dravidian word for a fish-hook.

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Verse reference	Name of fish	Internal evidence for identification	Etymological meaning and other evidences	Scientific name and reasons for identification
1385	**Sōra** (Plate XVIII, fig. 1).	Scaleless, marine, large size.	*Sōra* is a non-Sanskrit word. In Tamil *Sūṟā* = shark and in Telugu *Sora* or *Sorra* = shark. For different kinds of sharks, prefixes or affixes are added.	Here reference is made to sharks of all varieties which are common in Indian seas and enter estuaries and large rivers.
1385	**Śṛiṅgasōra** (Plate XVIII, fig. 2).	Scaleless, marine, large size.	*Śṛiṅgā* = horn and Sōra = shark. A shark with a horn.	Evidently a reference is made here to Sawfishes of the genus *Pristis* which are common in the Indian seas and enter estuaries.
1385	**Chaṁvilōcha** (Plate XVIII, fig. 3).	Scaleless, marine, large size.	*Vilocha* = *Vilōchana* (?) = eye; may be a fish with 'shining eyes'.	Here reference is probably made to the Hammer-headed Shark *Zygaena* in which the eyes are placed at the two ends of the hammer.
1385	**Bala** (Plate XVIII, figs. 4, 4*a*, 4*b*).	Scaleless, marine, large size.	*Bāla* = 'ignorant person who does not know'; usually translated as 'fool' (*vide* E. J. Thomas, *J. Ceylon Br. R.A.S.*, Centenary Volume, N.S.I., p. 34, 1945).	In the marine catfishes of the genus *Arius*, some of the species of which grow to 3 feet or more in length, the male carries vivified eggs in the mouth until hatched and stops feeding. This habit may be responsible for the name *Bāla* (fool).
1386	**Kaṇṭakāra** (Plate XVIII, fig. 5).	Scaleless, marine, large size.	*Kaṇṭaka* = thorn; *ara* = spoke of a wheel.	Probably reference is made in *Kaṇṭakara* to the marine catfishes of the genus *Plotosus*, some of which attain upwards of 3 feet in length. Wounds from the pectoral spines of *P. arab* are much dreaded by the fishermen of India 'as occasioning phlegmonous inflamation or even tetanus' (Day, *Fish. India*, p. 483, 1878).
1386	**Saṁkuchaka** (Plate XVIII, fig. 6).	Scaleless, marine, large size.	Saṁkuchaka is probably so-called because of its habit of 'shrinking or contracting' (*saṁkucha*).	Apte has rightly identified it as a kind of Skate. See also Hora in *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, XVI, p. 47 (1950).

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1386	**Kōvāsaka** (Plate XVIII, fig. 7).	Scaleless, riverine, large size.	If it were *Kauvāsaka*, then it may mean 'living on earth or at the bottom'.	A riverine Catfish that lives at the bottom and grows to a large size may be *Mystus aor* (Hamilton) or *M. seenghala* (Sykes).
1386	**Khirīḍa** (Plate XIX, fig. 1).	Scaleless, riverine, large size.	If it were *Kirīṭa*, it may mean a crown or coronet'.	I do not know of any Catfish of Indian rivers which grows to a large size and possesses a crown-like structure on the head. By a process of elimination, I think it refers to *Pangasius pangasius* (Ham.).
1386	**Pāṭhīna** (Plate XIX, fig. 2).	Scaleless, riverine, large size. Lives along with turtles in navel deep waters. It is to be fed on bits of foul-smelling meat.	*Pāṭhim pṛishṭham namayati* or *unnayati* = that which carries a back. It is described as *Sahasra-daṁshṭraḥ* = having a thousand fangs.	This fish is evidently *Wallago attu* (Block). It has a short dorsal fin on the dorsal surface and possesses a large number of sharp inwardly curved teeth in both the jaws which can be compared with fangs. It can be baited with foul-smelling meat and lives in crevices to prey on smaller animals seeking shelter there.
1386	**Siṁhatuṇḍaka** (Plate XIX, fig. 3).	Scaleless, riverine, large size. This fish is to be fed on dhichakas (meaning not clear), but may refer to aquatic animals.	*Siṁha* = lion, *tuṇḍaka* = face. Fish having face like a lion.	This fish is probably the same as *Bagh Ari* of Behar, *Bagarius bagarius* (Ham.). It is a monster of the rivers at the bases of hills and feeds voraciously on aquatic animals. It is known as a freshwater shark among Indian anglers. They are usually likened to tigers in their ferocity (*Bagh* = tiger in Hindi).
1387	**Pāṭalapichchhaka** (Plate XIX, fig. 4).	Scaleless, riverine, medium size.	*Pāṭalapichchha* = with a pink crest or pink at the crest. *Pāṭala* = tan colour; *pichha* = tail fin: a fish with its tail fin having tan colour.	Of the medium sized Catfishes of Indian rivers, the two types of Baccha fish are considered good sporting fishes. I identify this species as *Clupisoma garua* (Hamilton). It grows to 6 lbs.
1387	**Dantapāṭala** (Plate XIX, fig. 5).	Scaleless, riverine, medium size.	*Danta* = teeth; *pāṭala* = tan colour. Fish with the teeth tan-coloured.	Because of the wide mouth and very prominent, characteristic bands of teeth in both jaws. I identify this species as *Eutropiichthys vacha* (Hamilton). Grows to about 5 to 6 lbs.
1388	**Gāgdhara** (Plate XIX, fig. 6).	Scaly, riverine, small size.	*dhara* = carrying or bearing; *Gag* = ?	If *Gag* could be *Kag*, then it would be crow-fish or the fish having a beak like a crow = *Xenentodon cancila* (Hamilton).

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Verse reference	Name of fish	Internal evidence for identification	Etymological meaning and other evidences	Scientific name and reasons for identification
1388	**Gojjala** (Plate XIX, fig. 7).	Scaly, riverine, small size.	*Jala* = water; *goj* = shallowness or muddiness of water.	*Gōjāl* is a species of *Ophicephalus* in Bengal which is generally found in ditches or shallow, marshy areas = *O. marulius* Ham.
1388	**Vidruva** (Plate XIX, fig. 8).	Scaly, riverine, small size.	Perhaps derived from *Vidru, Vidruva, i.e.*, 'to run in different directions', 'nimble'. *Vidru (va)* also means melting.	In this name, there is no doubt reference is made to a nimble, surface-living species which on provocation would scatter in all directions. It is probably a species of *Chela, Rasbora, Danio*, etc.
1389	**Kaṇṭharaya** (Plate XIX, fig. 9).	Scaly, riverine, small size.	Literally 'swift at the neck' or one that moves swiftly with the neck forward. Dr. B. C. Law thinks a fish with a beautiful neck.	The small, scaly fish with a beautiful neck could be *Barilius bendelisis* Ham. because in this species the shoulder process, which could be likened to neck, is black-edged. It is a widely distributed species and is found in the northern section of the Western Ghats. It attains at least 6 inches in length.
1389	**Paṇḍimāna** (Plate XIX, fig. 10).	Scaly, marine, large size.	Non-Sanskritic word. Tamil: *Paṇḍi* = belly. Perhaps a fish with a large body. *Pāṇḍu* in Sanskrit means white. Probably it signifies a white perch as compared with *Pallaka* the red perch.	Large sized perches, such as *Lates calcarifer* and *Serranus lanczolatus*, are probably implied in this name. The Telugu name for *Lates calcarifer* is *Paṇḍukōpa* or *Paṇḍu-meena*, so this species is referred to here.
1390	**Pallaka** (Plate XIX, fig. 11).	Scaly, marine, medium size.	Non-Sanskritic word. In Telugu *Palla* = reddish. Compare *Pāṭala* with *Palla*. Perhaps a fish with reddish tint.	The Red Rock Perch, *Lutianus roseus*, is probably meant in this name. It grows to about 7-8 lbs.
1390	**Tōmara** (Plate XX, fig. 1).	Scaly, marine, medium size.	*Tōmara* = of the appearance of a lance.	The Gar Fish, *Belone annulata*, is probably meant in this name. It is lance-shaped and grows to 2 feet in length.

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1390	**Mahāśīla** (Plate XX, fig. 2).	Scaly, riverine, large size.	Perhaps derived from the root *śīla* = calm and controlled disposition. This fish is to be fed on parched gram mixed with cooked rice in balls of the size of wood-apple.	I think this name may refer to the type of Mahseer known from the Deccan—*Barbus* (*Tor*) *massulah* Sykes. It grows to a big size. For etymology of Mahseer, see Hora, *Journ. Bomb. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XLI, pp. 273–275 (1939). Probably this name refers collectively to all the large-scaled barbels included under *Tor*, *Lissocheilus* and *Puntius*.
1390	**Kahlava** (Plate XX, fig. 3).	Scaly, riverine, large size.	*Kahlava* = that which delights (*hlad*) in water or which makes sound (*hlas*) in water.	In the Carnatic country one of the riverine, scaly fishes of large size is *Barbus* (*Puntius*) *carnaticus* Jerdon. As it is best taken on fly, it is a surface feeding fish in quiet runs, eddies and back waters between runs. 'Under trees, near sunken logs or swirls, round rocks, are the specially beloved places of this fish.' (Macdonald, p. 142). It is likely, therefore, that its playfulness in water is responsible for its name *Kahlava*.
1390	**Nāḍaka** (Plate XX, fig. 4).	Scaly, riverine, large size.	*Nāḍaka* = *Nāḷaka* = tubular.	A large-sized, tubular, scaly fish of Peninsular India would appear to be *Barbus* (*Puntius*) *curmuca* Ham. It is found along the Western Ghats and attains 4 feet in length. The fish is almost subcylindrical with a conical snout which renders it more or less tubular.
1390	**Baḍiśa** (Plate XX, fig. 5).	Scaly, riverine, large size. With the powder of parched safflower and flour of parched barley, both mixed with cooked rice, make balls of the size of a mango and feed the Baḍiśa fish on them.	*Baḍiśa* in Sanskrit means a fish hook.	The greatly arched body of *Notopterus chitala* gives it a hook-like outline. It grows to about 18 lbs. and is a good game fish. In Telugu, *Badishya* is the name for *Chela baicala*, but this is a fish of small size.
1391	**Vaṭagi**	Scaly, riverine, large size.	Perhaps derived from *Vaṭaka*= globular, round or disc-like.	If estuaries are to be included among rivers, then the fish satisfying the disc-like form will be *Scatophagus argus*.

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Verse reference	Name of fish	Internal evidence for identification	Etymological meaning and other evidences	Scientific name and reasons for identification
1391	**Rōhita** (Plate XX, fig. 6).	Scaly, riverine, medium size. Lives in large, stagnant, muddy pools. To be fed with a preparation of sesamum, oil-cake seed and cooked rice made into balls of the size of a plum.	*Rōhita* = of reddish tint.	Usually Rōhita is identified as *Labeo rohita* (Ham.), but it is, like *Catla* and *Mrigal*, of large size. The medium-sized fish of reddish tint in the Deccan is *Labeo fimbriata*, a fish allied to *L. rohita*. The latter grows to 3 feet and attains a weight of 50 lbs. while the former grows to about half that size.
1391	**Svarṇamīna** (Plate XXI, fig. 1).	Scaly, riverine, medium size.	*Svarṇamīna* = golden coloured fish.	Probably *Svarṇ-puṭṭi* of Bengal = *Barbus* (*Puntius*) *sarana* Hamilton.
1391	**Khaṇḍālipa** (Plate XXI, fig. 2).	do.	Perhaps that which drinks (*pā*) by small drops.	Judging by the size and form of the mouth, I think it may be *Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacép.).
1392	**Marila** (Plate XXI, fig. 3).	do.	This fish is to be fed on flesh of crabs. It does not eat flour and is a meat-eater. It is procurable only from pools.	This is perhaps the *Marll* of the Canarese and *Maral* of Hindi speaking areas. *Ophicephalus striatus* Bloch.
1392	**Tumbaya** (Plate XXI, fig. 4).	do.	*Tumbaya*, also *Tumbara*, meaning in Telugu 'gourd-like'. This is the same as Sanskrit *Tumba* or *Tumbaka*. *Tumbuki* means puffed cheeks.	A fish with puffed cheeks satisfying other conditions also is *Glossogobius giuris* (Hamilton).
1392	**Vāñchi**	Scaly, riverine, medium size.	Probably a non-Sanskrit word corresponding to the Telugu *Vañju* or *Oñju* meaning a kind of fish. *Vañchuṭa* in Telugu means bowed down or bent. Meat eater, lives in pools.	*Wanjou* in Telugu is the name of *Silonia silondia* (Ham.). It is a carnivorous species. *Silonia*, however, grows to a large size and is usually a North Indian species. A similar fish, and often confused with it, is the Deccan form *Silonopangasius taakree* (Sykes). This is 'of medium size, but is without scales.'

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1393	**Kaurattha** (Plate XXI, fig. 5).	This fish ascends the river 6 to 7 yojanas and lives in deep pools. The fishery is in the river and not in the sea.	Etymology not known.	The internal evidence shows that it is an anadromous fish. In the Mahānadī, *Hilsa ilisha* (Hamilton) forms a fishery of this nature, but it is not a fish of rocky streams.
1396	**Kōvākīya** (Plate XXI, fig. 6).	Large-sized, scaly, anadromous fish. Lives in deep waters studded with rocks.	Etymology not known.	It is probable that reference is made here to *Polynemus tetradactylus* Shaw about which Day (*Fish. India*, p. 180, 1876) observed: '*Habitat.*—Seas of India to the Malay Archipelago and China, attaining 6 feet and upwards in length; it is excellent eating. This species appears to ascend higher up the rivers than any of the others, and the young are numerous in the Hooghly at Calcutta. Ham. Buchanan observes: 'I have been assured by a credible native that he saw one which was a load for six men, and which certainly, therefore, exceeded in weight 320 lb. avoirdupois.' (*Fish Ganges*, p. 225.)
1396	**Kōraka**	Lives in deep sandy waters.	*Kōraka* means a bud or a sheath.	I am unable to identify this fish.
1399	**Thōgyara**	Lives in pools.	*Togaru* is a Telugu word; *Toga* means a water lily; *Togarēḍu* means moon. May mean red coloured fish.	I am unable to identify this fish.
1399	**Tumbara**	do.	*Tumba* in Telugu means 'gourd'.	This is probably the same fish as Tumbaya in verse 1392: *Glossogobius giuris* (Ham).
1399	**Vāmin**	do.	*Vāma* = crooked or left.	Probably the same as Vāñchi of verse 1392. *Silonopangasius taakree* (Sykes).
1405	**Kaurāka**	Feed on lungs and hind muscles.	Etymology not known.	Probably the same as Kōvākīya of verse 1396, or Kōvāsaka of verse 1386.

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As soon as it gets exhausted one should haul it up. If it shows signs of vigour, one should release the cord. Gently and slowly one should haul it up, taking care that the cord does not give way. (*1430*)

Having thrown the rod one should withdraw it by the tail string:

In this way is this sport of angling, described with the requisite nomenclature and definitions. (*1431*)

By King Bhūlōkamalladēva Sōmabhūpa (King Sōma) has been given the above account of amusement pertaining to fishing as a pastime. (*1432*)

Sōmēśvara's Classification of Fishes

In considering King Sōmēśvara's classification of fishes according to habitat and size, it must be borne in mind that he is especially dealing with those fishes that are common in the sport of angling. The rod, line, hook and bait have all to be adjusted according to the nature of the waters, size of fish and their feeding habits. He divides the fishes into marine and freshwater riverine forms and enumerates the anadromous, and other species with special habitats separately.

It may here be noted that in the most recent work on Indian sporting fishes, Macdonald[1] has also grouped them under Freshwater, Sea and Estuary, and Tank fishes.

Marine and Estuarine forms.—The marine species are divided into scaleless and scaly, and further subdivided according to size. Six scaleless marine fishes are mentioned and all of them are stated to be of large size. These are the following:—

1. Ṣōra = Sharks.
2. Śṛiṅgasōra = Saw Fish, a kind of shark.
3. Chaṁvilōcha = Hammer-headed Shark.
4. Bala = Catfishes of the genus *Arius*.
5. Kaṇṭakara = Catfishes of the genus *Plotossus*.
6. Saṁkuchaka = Skates and Rays.

Among the scaly marine fishes, mention is made of three species, one of which (Paṇḍimāna = *Lates calcarifer* or *Begti*) grows to a large size, while the other two (Pallaka = The Red Rock Perch, *Lutianus roseus* and Tōmara = The Gar Fish, *Belone annulata*) are stated to be of medium size.

To the estuarine forms may be referred two species of Sōmēśvara's list, namely Kaurattha and Kōvākīya. About the former, he says:

> 'Along the mountain bordering the Mahānadī, Kaurattha comes six to seven *yōjanas* from the sea to the river. They reside in large deep pools. This itself, and not the sea, is the place where to catch them. They live in the river where there is rocky bottom and rocky sides and no mud.'

In considering the identification of this fish, it must be remembered that Mahānadī was outside Sōmēśvara's kingdom and that he may have had no personal knowledge about the habits and habitat of this fish. His account is probably based on what he had heard of this species. There are no mountains bordering the Mahānadī within 60 to 70 miles from its mouth. So description of its habitat as 'deep pools' with 'rocky bottom

[1] Macdonald, A. St. J.—*Circumventing the Mahseer and other sporting fish in India and Burma* (Bombay, 1943).

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and rocky sides and no mud' seems to be incorrect. *Hilsa*, however, satisfies two main points in the description of Kauratṭha, namely, (i) it swarms up the river Mahānadī in large numbers for a considerable distance up-river and (ii) its main fishery lies in the river and not in the sea. If my identification of Kaurattha as *Hilsa* is correct, then it must be mentioned that it is not a sporting fish though in recent years the same quality was sought to be attributed to it. Its fine taste and flavour, however, make it one of the most esteemed food fishes in Bengal and Orissa, and the inclusion of this fish by Sōmēśvara in his list may be for that reason and not for its sporting qualities.

Kōvākīya is said to be a large-sized, scaly fish which spends part of its life in the sea and part in rivers. 'They live in deep waters studded with rocks.' Certain species of *Polynemus* and *Sciaena* enter estuaries for breeding purposes, so it is likely that they are referred to in Kōvākīya, the etymology of which is unknown. It may refer to *P. tetradactylus* Shaw.

It is interesting to note that Macdonald has also listed *Lates calcarifer*, *Lutianus roseus*, *Polynemus tetradactylus*, *P. indicus*, Rays, Sharks, etc. among the sea and estuarine sporting fishes. Macdonald has, however, mentioned a large number of other species as he deals with the coastal fishes from Karachi to the Mergui Archipelago, Andaman Sea and other places, whereas Sōmēśvara probably deals with fishing in his territorial waters only.

Col. Burton (*vide* Macdonald, pp. 216–228) gives an account of Sea Fishing along the West Coast of India and in the list on page 219 mentions practically all the species enumerated by Sōmēśvara. Among others, he mentions *Polynemus tetradactylus*, Ground Shark (*Carcharias gangeticus*), Hammer-headed Shark (*Zygaena blockii*), Skate (*Rhynchobatus djeddensis*), Marine Catfish (*Arius* spp.), Sting ray (*Trygon sephen*), Gar-pike (*Belone* sp.) and Perches (*Lates*, *Lunianus*, etc.).

It would thus appear that in selecting marine fishes for his list, Sōmēśvara was partly influenced by the abundance of the species, their availability near the coasts or in the estuaries and by their sporting qualities. Judged in this way, his list is fairly comprehensive. It must, however, be remembered that Sōmēśvara was aware of the fact that 'Fishes are of many kinds: they defy enumeration', but he dealt with some of the sporting fishes only.

Freshwater Riverine forms.—More inland fishes provide sport to anglers than the marine forms on account of their easy accessibility. Sōmēśvara mentions 21 species, of which 6 are scaleless and 15 with scales. Scaleless species are further divided into large (4) and medium (2) size. Of the 15 species with scales, 5 are of large size, 6 of medium size and 4 of small size. The various species are listed below with their probable scientific names.

Scaleless Riverine Fishes of large size

1. Kōvāsaka = *Mystus aor* (Ham.) or *M. seenghala* (Sykes).
2. Khirīda = ? *Pangasius pangasius* (Ham.).
3. Pāṭhīna = *Wallago attu* (Bloch).
4. Siṁhatuṇḍaka = *Bagarius bagarius* (Ham.).

Scaleless Riverine Fishes of medium size.

1. Pāṭalapichchhaka = *Clupisoma garua* (Ham.).
2. Dantāpaṭala = *Eutropiichthys vacha* (Ham.).

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From among the group of Sheat Fishes (Scaleless; Catfishes; Siluroidea), Macdonald (pp. 157–164) has also referred to these very species in his account of the sporting fishes. The only other Sheat Fish included by Macdonald is *Silonia silondia* (Ham.), which, as Hora[1] has already pointed out, is restricted to the Indo-Gangetic Basin of northern India and could not, therefore, be known to Sōmēśvara.

Large-sized Riverine Fishes with scales

1. Mahāśīla = Mahāśīrsha or Mahāśiras = *Barbus* (*Tor*) *mussulah* Sykes and *B.* (*Tor*) *khudree* Sykes. The famous sporting fish *Mahsir*.
2. Kahlava = *Barbus* (*Puntius*) *carnaticus* Jerdon.
3. Nāḍaka = *Barbus* (*Puntius*) *curmuca* Ham.
4. Baḍiśa = ? *Notopterus chitala* (Ham.).
5. Vaṭagi = Not able to identify it.

Medium-sized Riverine Fishes with scales

1. Rōhita = *Labeo fimbriata* (Cuv. & Val.).
2. Svarṇamīna = *Barbus* (*Puntius*) *sarana* Ham.
3. Khaṇḍālipa = *Mastacembelus armatus* (Lacép.).
4. Marila = *Ophicephalus striatus* Bloch.
5. Tumbaya = *Glossogobius giuris* (Ham.).
6. Vāñchi = Not able to identify this fish.

Small-sized Riverine Fishes with scales

1. Gāgdhara = *Xenentodon cancila* (Ham.).
2. Ǧojjala = *Ophicephalus punctatus* Bloch.
3. Vidruva = Carp-Minnows (*Puntius*, *Danio*, *Esomus*, etc.).
4. Kaṇṭharaya = *Barilius bendelisis* Ham.

The following species enumerated by Sōmēśvara I have not been able to identify:—

1. Vaṭagi = Scaly, riverine, large size = *Vaṭaka* or disc-like globular fish.
2. Vāñchi = Scaly, riverine, medium size; meat eater, lives in pools.
3. Kōraka = Lives in deep sandy pools.
4. Thōgyra = Lives in pools.

All the freshwater fishes listed by Sōmēśvara are mentioned by Macdonald in his work and considering the boundary of his kingdom, the list is remarkably complete for the sporting fishes of that region.

Sōmēśvara on Fishing Tackle

The tackle for angling is dealt with by Sōmēśvara under line, hook and rod and evidently the use of reel was unknown in his time. Regarding the rod, hook and the line he gives fairly detailed instructions.

The Line.—He advises the use of four types of material, namely, fibres of *mūrvā* or the Bow-string Hemp (*Sansevieria Zelanica* Willd. and

[1] Hora, S. L.—*Journ. Bombay Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XL, p. 144 (1938).

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S. Roxburghii); fibres of *kanduka* or *Kandula* of the Maratti [*Sterculia urens* (Roxb.)]; fibres of *Arka* (*Calatropis gigantea* R. Br.) and fine threads of cotton. He considers the line made out of the *mūrvā* fibres as the best. The next in quality are those made from the fibres of kanduka or arka but those made of the cotton thread are regarded as of the poorest quality. This distinction is based on the extensile strength of each variety of fibre. The superiority of the *mūrvā* fibres, which are pliant, soft and silky, is evident from the fact that it is much valued in Europe for making ropes used in deep-sea dredgings.

He divides the line into three categories—thick, medium thickness and fine. He wants them to be three-ply, long and soft to touch. They should be twisted by turning on fingers. The line should in no case be longer than 300 yards and shorter than 3 yards. The extreme thickness of the line may be $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ inch and extreme thinness like the hair from a horse's tail.

For experts and high class anglers, lines made of the indigenous materials as noted above seem to have gone out of use. Macdonald (p. 42) recommends braided silk lines, 'Lignum Vitae' or 'Non-pareil' (both American), which according to him, 'far surpass anything yet put on the market'. Backing should be line of flax or hemp, and slightly stronger than the braided line. 'If a twisted line is preferred, "Donegal" Cutty Hunk is finer, relatively, than most other lines, for its strength, thus enabling you to get more line on to the reel.' It is indeed remarkable that Macdonald also gives 300 yards of line as the maximum length.

It seems probable that the evolution of the modern line has been due to the use of the reel, which, as stated above, was not known in Sōmēśvara's time.

The rod.—According to Sōmēśvara, the rod made of bamboo, sprung from the earth is the best. The next best is a spike-shaped branch of a bamboo with close joints and solid from inside. He also recommends a branch of the *Māḍa* tree (Mangrove tree or *Avicennia*). The rod should be tapering like the tail of a lizard. In the case of a bamboo thick rod, its circumference at the thickest point should be about 3 inches (six fingers), and in the case of a small rod, half the thickness. The rod should neither be very long nor very short; neither very supple nor very stiff. In the case of a Māḍa tree rod, its greatest circumference could be even 5 inches (ten fingers); it should taper gradually and the joints should not be close together.

Macdonald (p. 42), writing about rods, says:

> 'The old idea of long sixteen feet rods, heavy spoons, and baits, have (*sic*) given place (thanks to the advance made by tackle makers of strong light and pliable rods) to ten and twelve feet rods, now almost universally used for the heaviest fish. Split cane, steel or green heart, are all popular; and for the man of limited means the ringal or bamboo rod made out here is strong enough to land any fish.'

Macdonald personally recommends the two-piece ringal or bamboo rod. Sōmēśvara also favours a rod made of bamboo.

The hook.—According to Sōmēśvara, the hook should be made of iron which is bent wide in the middle with the base thick and point thin. The part where the line is tied may be flattened or rounded. The curve of the hook should either correspond to a goad, or the hoof of a horse, or like a mango or crab-shaped. It must have an additional spike near the sharp end. Macdonald (p. 234) also mentions that on a hook 'The important thing is a short shank with a sharp point, and a tl in short barb.'

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Sōmēśvara on Ground Baiting

Ground baits are used to attract fishes to particular spots where angling operations are to be started. As different fishes have different feeding habits, naturally the ground baits prescribed by Sōmēśvara are also different. They are mentioned below according to the varieties of fish. He recommends feeding the fish both in the morning and in the evening at the same identical space (from where water is taken).

Kahlava (*Barbus carnaticus*) *and other similar fishes.*—The following ingredients should be used for feeding fishes of this type:—

Cakes and balls of Sesamum seeds,
Powdered or parched rice,
Flour of parched gram,
Cooked rice.

Mix the above ingredients and make balls of 2″ to 2½″ in size. The above ingredients can also be powdered with oily substances and then thrown in the water which should be stirred.

Rohita (*Labeo fimbriata*) *and other similar fishes.*—For feeding this variety of fishes, take sesamum-cake or seeds and mix them with cooked rice. Make balls of the size of a plum.

Baḍiśa (*Notopterus chitala*).—For feeding this fish, take the powder of parched safflower and flour of barley. Mix these with cooked rice and make balls of the size of a mango.

Notopterus chitala is a carnivorous species but its feeding habits as described above make me doubtful about my identification of *Baḍiśa*.

Vaṭagi (*Scientific name?*).—Crushed leaves of the wood-apple tree mixed with parched barley and made into balls as big as āmla fruit are suitable for feeding this fish.

Kauvāka (*Polynemus tetradactylus*).—Bits of lungs and muscles.
Pāṭhīna (*Wallago attu*).—Bits of foul-smelling meat.
Simhatuṇḍa (*Bagarius bagarius*).—Dhichakas (meaning unknown).
Maralī (*Ophicephalus striatus*).—Crab flesh.
Turtles.—Roasted meat of mice.
Small fish.—Earthworms.

With regard to Ground Baiting, Macdonald (p. 236) writes as follows:

> 'There are many kinds of ground bait; oil cake either mustard or castor, fried or fermented is good. Mix it with mud or gram or atta or rice, and throw it in.' Macdonald prefers 'roasted mustard cake, mixed with bran, damp earth and water, made up into slabs 4 to 5 inches in diameter, and a couple of inches thick. Mix in the proportion of 2 parts oil cake, 2 parts bran, and one part mud. I say in flat cakes because of the usual practice of making balls. These, if the bank happens to shelve towards the middle of the tank, will roll down and away from your fishing ground, if the cake is hard.'

Not being an angler myself, it is difficult for me to judge the merits and demerits of Sōmēśvara's method as against Macdonald's suggestions, but certain conclusions are irresistible. For instance, Sōmēśvara shows a greater insight into the feeding habits of the fishes by dividing them into groups and then prescribing a suitable ground bait for each group or kind. Further, Sōmēśvara also prescribes the limit in size for the morsel of each variety of fish. He wants the ground bait to be prepared into balls but he also indicates that feeding should be done every morning and evening from the steps used for taking water. The bottom is probably not steeply shelving in this place and the balls do not roll away. Macdonald suggests

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a mixture of mud with food but Sōmēśvara feeds fishes on articles of food only. Whereas Macdonald gives proportions of the various ingredients to be mixed, Sōmēśvara gives no such indications in his account. On the whole the technique of ground baiting seems to have been better developed in Sōmēśvara's time than at the present day. This is perhaps due to the fact that modern anglers think that 'provided the machan is a good one, the bait is a secondary matter' (Macdonald, p. 236).

Sōmēśvara's advice on fishing

Ground Bait.—Sōmēśvara considers regular ground baiting as a necessary condition preceding actual fishing.

Tackle.—The examination of the tackle to be used for fishing is Sōmēśvara's next instruction. For instance, one should not simply tie a thick cord to a thick rod or a thin cord to a thin rod. One should determine the length and thickness by taking into consideration the depth of the water and the size of fish. One should attach to one end of the cord a fishing hook, the size of which should be consistent with the length of the cord.

A Quill Float.—A peacock feather should be tied in the middle of the cord. At the base of the rod another long cord should be tied. For the purpose of attracting the fish, the expert should make the rod and line appear like a tail tapering to a point.

Bait.—Flour or meat, whatever is liked by a particular fish desired for sport, should then be put on the hook as a bait.

Casting the line.—Having attached the bait to the hook, one should throw the baited hook at the place where usually food (ground bait) is thrown to the fish.

Fish Bite.—Having cast the line, the angler should keep looking at the feather attentively. As soon as the fish touches the bait and begins to eat it, there is a movement of the feather. This movement is different in the case of different fishes—meat-eating and flour-eating kinds.

Striking a Fish.—As soon as the movement of the feather is noticed, the angler should strike with a sharp pull.

Playing a Fish.—When a fish gets entangled on the fishing hook, it becomes very vigorous. As soon at it gets exhausted, one should haul it up. If it shows signs of vigour, one should release the cord. Gently and slowly one should haul it up, taking care that the cord does not give way. If the rod has to be thrown after the fish, one should withdraw it by the tail string.

Though in his chapter on 'Tank Angling', Macdonald gives more elaborate details of various aspects of fishing for sport, Sōmēśvara's account is also fairly comprehensive and the hints given by him bear repetition even today in spite of the advances made in technique of fishing and the evolution of tackle.

Conclusions

In the above account, I have assessed point by point Sōmēśvara's knowledge about the sporting fishes of India and the art of angling by comparison with the most up-to-date work on angling for Indian Sporting fishes by Macdonald recently published by the Bombay Natural History Society. In the absence of records of any observational data, which must have formed the basis of the knowledge embodied in Matsyavinōda, one must wonder as to the length of time that our ancients must have taken to accummulate so much factual and deductive knowledge. In some

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respects, it has not been surpassed even now. The art of angling is not so popular with the general public in India and is either to be found among the rich persons with leisure or among the poor who practice it as a means of livelihood. Religious beliefs and social customs of the recent past seem to have hindered the development of this art in India.

In another article, I have shown how it was possible in ancient times to maintain irrigation tanks in Southern India through fishery revenue. It is very probable that the art of angling may have also developed in connection with fish cultured in these tanks. Our knowledge of these irrigation tanks in Southern India is derived from the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagara inscriptions dating from the 5th and 6th century A.D. to the 16th century. Mention of fishermen employed on irrigation tanks is made for the first time in the middle of the 10th century in the Nangavaram Inscription (Kulittalai taluk, Trichinopoly district). There is no mention of any revenue from fish but instead fishermen were paid in paddy for supplying wood for the repairs of boats used in desilting the tank. By A.D. 1112, we find from a Tamil inscription, found at Kūvam, Tiruvallur taluk, Chingleput district, that paddy and fishing taxes were used for the repairs of tanks. In all the inscriptions of the 13th to the 16th century about irrigation tanks, one finds that fishery revenue from each tank was sufficient for its maintenance. From this historical narrative, it would seem probable that Sōmēśvara's Matsyavinōda probably contains the accummulative knowledge about fishes of the later half of the 10th century, the whole of the 11th century and nearly three decades of the 12th century. In any case, the knowledge thus recorded is remarkably accurate and instructive and could be used in pond cultural practices to which considerable attention is now being paid to increase protein food-supplies in the warm, underdeveloped countries. The art of angling is the best method of harvesting small domestic ponds and thus to use them as kitchen-garden plots for taking out supplies in small quantities as and when required. For the fattening of fishes, Sōmēśvara's ground bait recipes could be tried with advantage. There is thus sound reason for India to build its future on traditional knowledge and then to expand it by modern scientific understanding.

Explanation of Plates

Plate XVIII

Types of Sporting Fishes described in Matsyavinōda.

Fig. 1. **Sōra** = a Shark: *Carcharias gangeticus.*
Fig. 2. **Śṛiṅgasōra** = a Shark with a horn or a Saw Fish: *Pristis cuspidatus.*
Fig. 3. **Chaṁvilōcha** = shining eyes, a Hammer-headed shark: *Zygaena malleus.*
Figs. 4, 4*a* and 4*b*. **Bala** = ignorant or fool: *Arius arius,* a Catfish carrying eggs and young ones in the mouth.
Fig. 5. **Kaṇṭakāra** = thorn: *Plotosus arab.*
Fig. 6. **Saṁkuchaka** = contracting: *Trygon walga.*
Fig. 7. **Kōvāsaka** = bottom-living: *Mystus aor.*

Figures, except 4*a* and 4*b*, are modified from Day's figures and his nomenclature is retained to facilitate reference.

Plate XIX

Types of Sporting Fishes described in Matsyavinōda

Fig. 1. **Khīrḍa** = coronet: *Pangasius pangasius.*
Fig. 2. **Pāthīna** = carrying a back: *Wallago attu.*
Fig. 3. **Siṁhatuṇḍaka** = lion-face: *Bagarius bagarius.*

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FIG. 4. **Pāṭalapichchhaka** = tan-coloured tail fin: *Clupisoma garua.*
FIG. 5. **Dantapāṭala** = tan-coloured teeth: *Eutropiichthys vacha.*
FIG. 6. **Gāgdhara** = Crow fish: *Xenentodon cancila.*
FIG. 7. **Gojjala** = Shallow water: *Ophicephalus punctatus.*
FIG. 8. **Vidruva** = nimble: *Chela phulo.*
FIG. 9. **Kaṇṭharaya** = beautiful neck: *Barilius bendelisis.*
FIG. 10. **Paṇḍimāna** = white fish: *Lates calcarifer.*
FIG. 11. **Pallaka** = Red fish: *Lutianus roseus.*

With the exception of fig. 1, others are after Day.

Plate XX

Types of Sporting Fishes described in Matsyavinōda

FIG. 1. **Tōmara** = lance-shaped: *Belone annulata.*
FIG. 2. **Mahāśīla** = Very cool tempered: South Indian Mahseers *Tor massullah* (2*a*) or *Tor khudree* (2).
FIG. 3. **Kahlava** = playful: *Puntius carnaticus.*
FIG. 4. **Nāḍaka** = tubular: *Puntius curmuca.*
FIG. 5. **Baḍiśa** = fish hook: *Notopterus chitala.*
FIG. 6. **Rōhīta** = pink tinted: *Labeo fimbriatus.*

With the exception of fig. 2, others are after Day.

Plate XXI

Types of Sporting Fishes described in Matsyavinōda

FIG. 1. **Svarṇamīna** = golden coloured: *Puntius sarana.*
FIG. 2. **Khaṇḍālipa** = drink small drops: *Mastacembelus armatus.*
FIG. 3. **Marila** = *Ophicephalus striatus.*
FIG. 4. **Tumbaya** = gourd-like: *Glossogobius giuris.*
FIG. 5. **Kaurattha** = *Hilsa ilisha.*
FIG. 6. **Kōvākīya** = *Polynemus tetradactylus.*

Figures 1, 2 and 4 are after Day; figure 3 after Hamilton and figure 6 after Gray.

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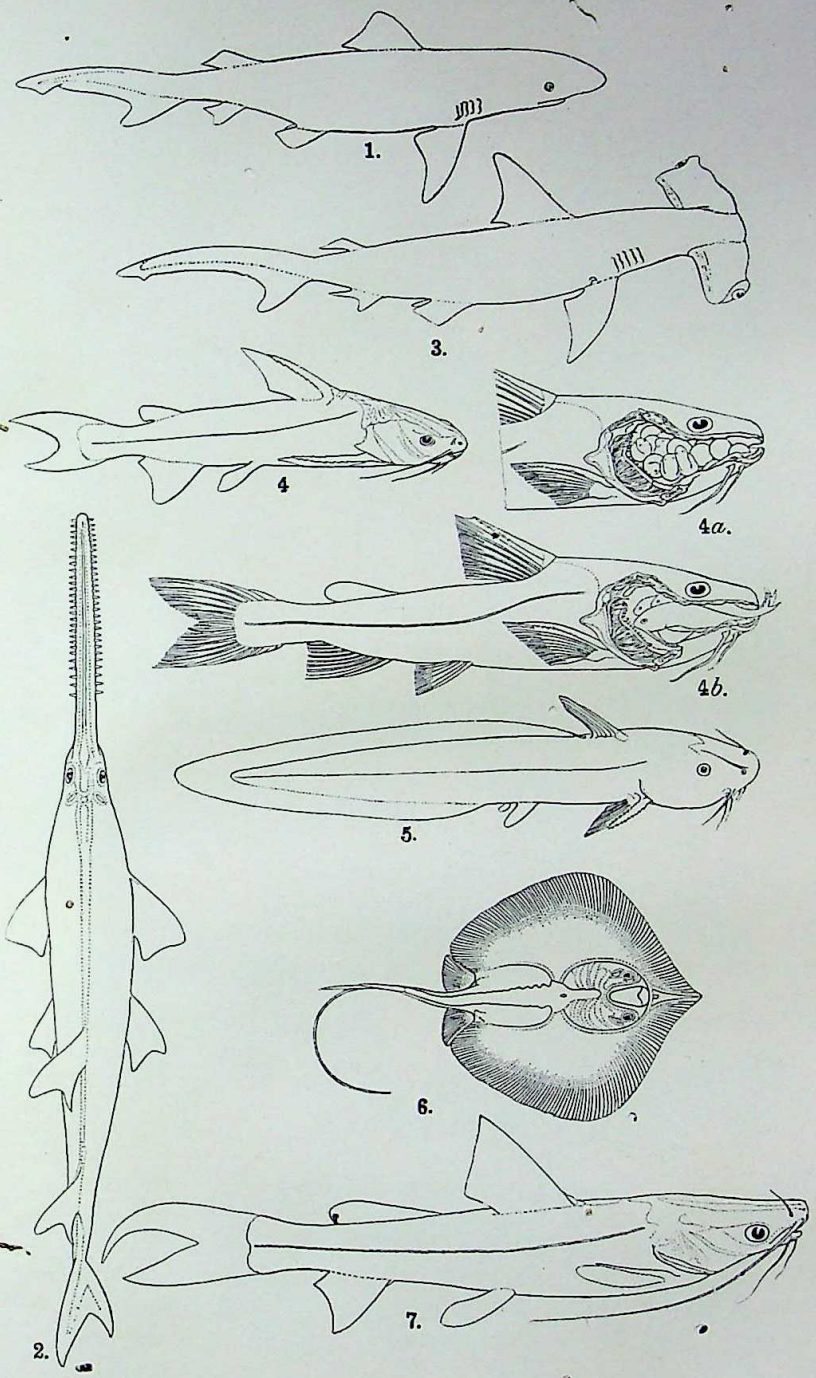

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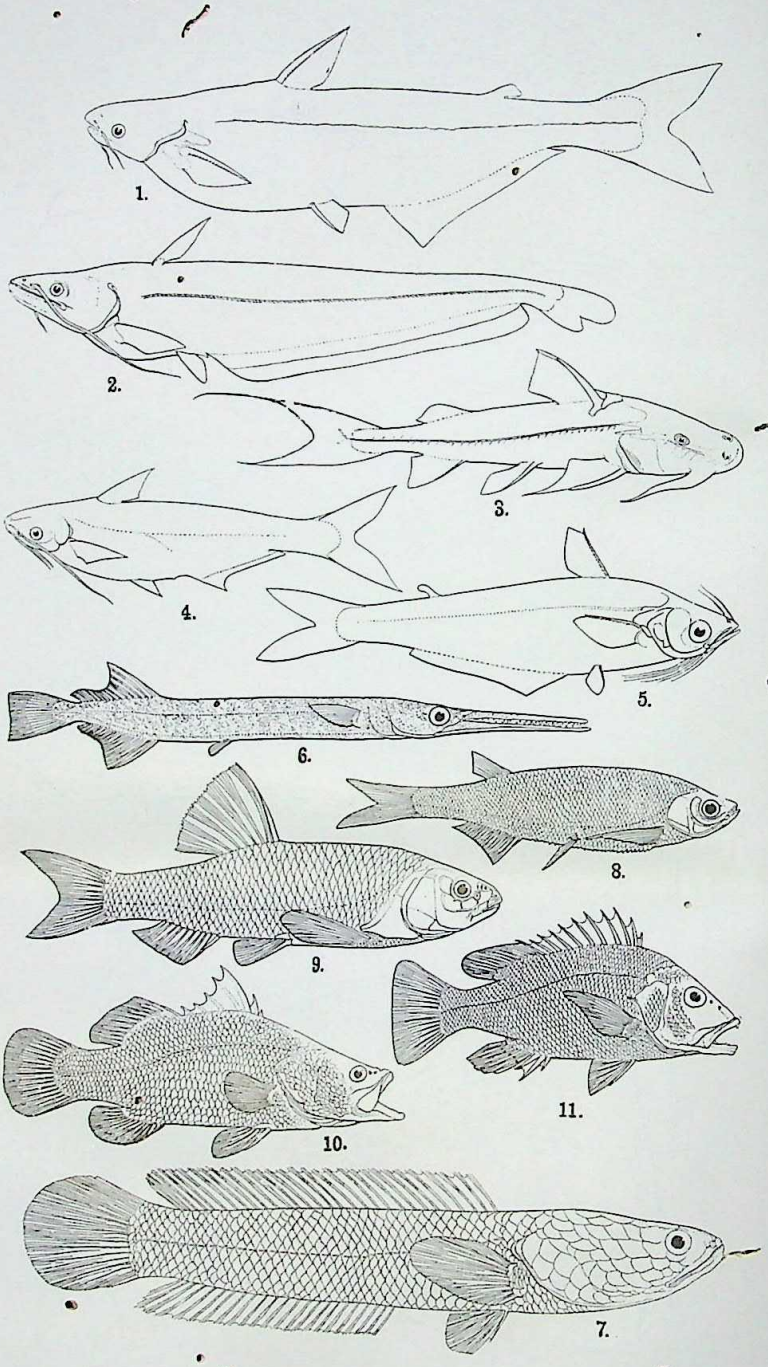

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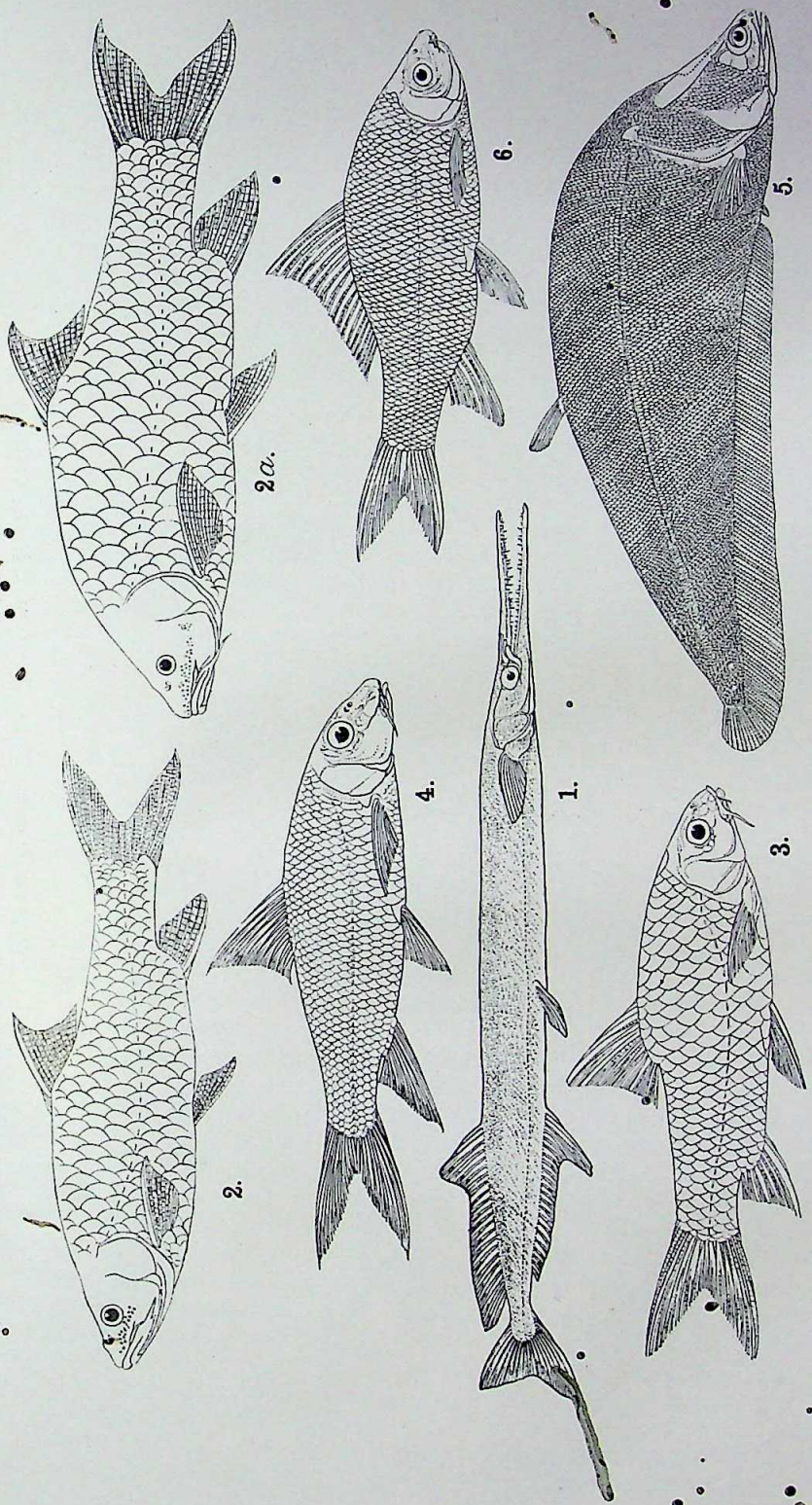

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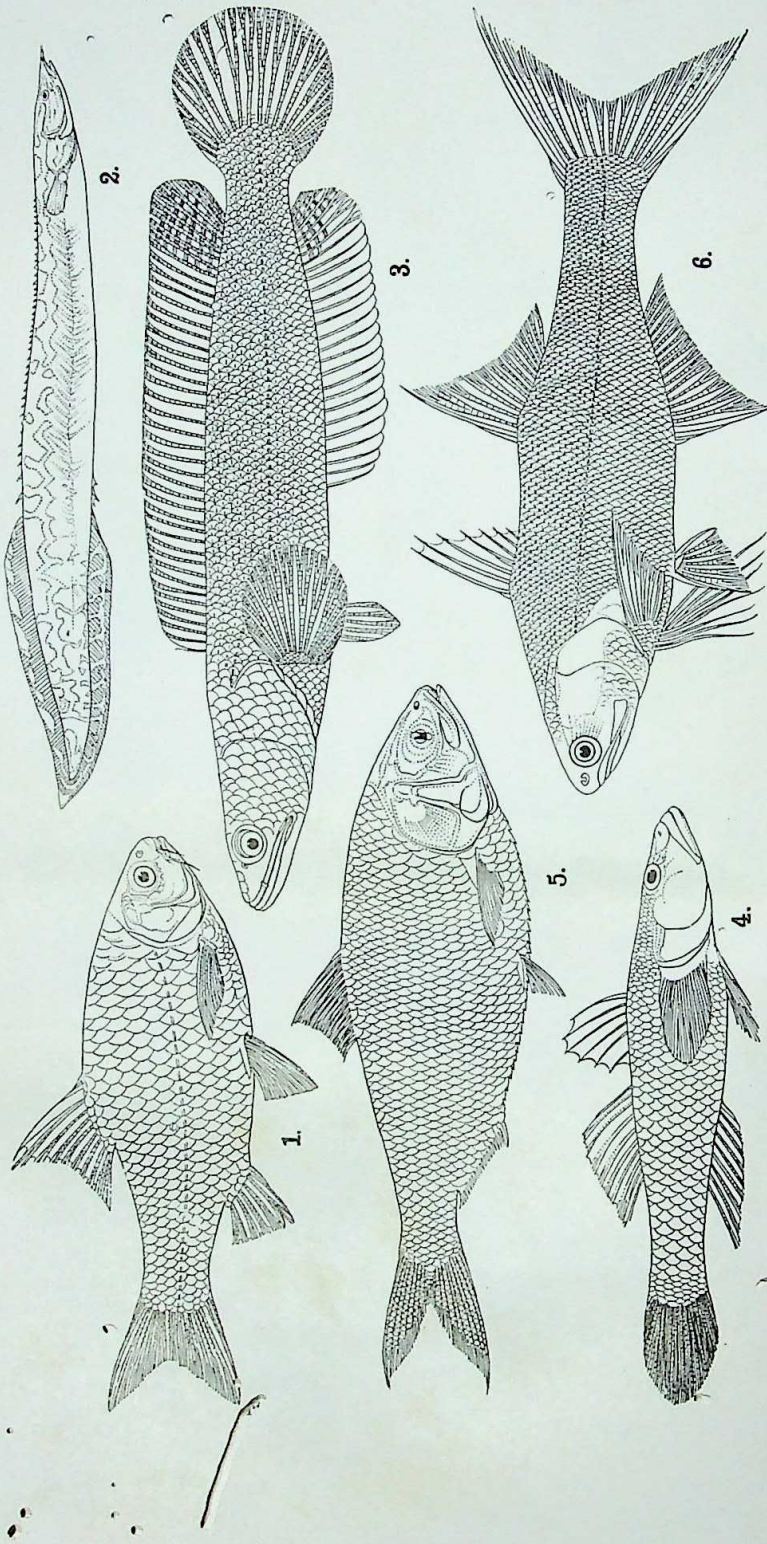

Types of Sporting Fishes described in Matsyavinōd.

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REVIEW OF BOOKS

STONE AGE AND PLEISTOCENE CHRONOLOGY IN GUJARAT by Frederick E. Zeuner, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.G.S., F.Z.S. Deccan College Monograph Series: 6. Poona, 1950. Price: Rs.8. Pp. 46 and 14 figures.

Dr. Frederick E. Zeuner, who is Professor of Environmental Archaeology in the University of London, has been responsible for the introduction of a new technique in the study of Indian prehistory. The emphasis has been shifted from an analysis and study of the evolution of tool types to the building up of the environmental conditions under which man lived in the past. The modern prehistorian tries to understand the life of man as it was lived with the help of tools under the climatic conditions, the fauna, the flora, soil and river systems which prevailed in ancient times. Prehistory has rightly become the study of human ecology in the past.

In the present preliminary report of the 'joint expedition of the Archaeological Department and Deccan College Research Institute', Dr. Zeuner has presented the results of his field observations alone; the results of his laboratory work on the soils and their biological contents have been reserved for future treatment. The main effort, in the present report, has been towards the reconstruction of the succession of climates through which Gujarat passed during the Stone Age and after.

For this purpose, Dr. Zeuner has made use of certain conclusions to which he arrived as a result of his field observations. He found, for instance, that 'red loamy soils and true laterites are not formed in the area at the present time' (p. 4). One of the important sections studied by him in the Sabarmati valley, contained a top layer of 'modern greyish-brown, calcareous soil' which might indicate slightly damper conditions than were responsible for the formation of the 'brown, calcareous sand' which comes below, (pp. 5, 6). The latter indicates 'a slightly drier phase or at least an intensification of wind activity'. He further says, 'since we know from archaeological evidence that at that time an agricultural population was present in the area, it is conceivable that the increase in wind activity was due to their appearance on the spot' (p. 6). Underneath this, Dr. Zeuner encountered an old land surface which showed red soil. 'There is no doubt', he writes, 'that it is the product of a prolonged period of weathering under conditions more humid than those prevailing both before and after' (p. 9). The formation of such soils was observed by him in areas like Bellary, where the mean annual rainfall is about 18 ins. 'From this it is evident', he writes, 'that the Sabarmati area where the mean annual rainfall is about 29 ins. such red soils would, in all probability, develop at the present day over a much wider area than they actually do, if man, by replacing the natural vegetation with agricultural steppe, did not artificially make the soil climate more arid than it would be under natural conditions. The fossil red soil thus appears to suggest rainfall of the same order, *i.e.* about 20–40 ins., in a climate with a long dry season' (p. 10). Underneath the red soil, there comes river silt, followed further down by a bed of coarse, cemented gravels. This 'Silt Phase indicates a drying up of the climate before the formation of the red soil, which in turn appears to indicate somewhat damper conditions' (p. 11).

It is in this manner that Dr. Zeuner has tried to reconstruct the ancient succession of climates. It appears to the reviewer, however, that the

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inference of climatic conditions, mainly based upon the lithological character of the beds, is not justified in the present stage of our knowledge regarding the subject. In the district of Singbhum, for instance, where the rainfall is more than 50 ins., there are areas where reddening of the soil surface is taking place today, while nearby, there are areas where a segregation of calcium carbonate is taking place without any superficial ferruginous concentration. The difference often seems to be caused by the varying lithological character of the beds, although both are subjected to identical climatic influences. Where the beds are porous, capillary movement freely takes place, while, if the clay content is high, it retards such movement, giving rise to results which are quite different in character. If the segregation of ferruginous matter had merely been the function of climate, then its presence or absence in a bed would have been indicative of a particular climatic condition. But we do not think that we are justified, at the present time, in taking that for granted.

Further observations in areas of little rainfall like Bellary, and in places of heavy rainfall like Bihar or Orissa, should be undertaken in order to discover the exact nature of the process of lateritization. Quite recently, Bose, Sen and Ray have tried to interpret a section in Orissa which has some affinity with the sections on the Sabarmati; but in a completely different way (*Geographical Review of India*, March, 1951). They came across implement-bearing beds which were alternately, more or less, lateritized, and which were separated by unlateritized thicknesses of gravel or boulder conglomerate. Their suggested explanation is that the levels which have been lateritized were old land surfaces, which had been subjected to prolonged exposure under monsoon conditions, and above the reach of the highest floods. The river, in those times, had apparently moved away, or deeper down, so as to make this possible. The reason why the river level sank may have been due to reduced discharge, implying reduced precipitation, or due to some tectonic activity to which the area in question was subjected and which led to rejuvenation without necessary change in precipitation. When such alternative explanations are not completely ruled out, it is evidently premature to treat the presence of red soils as indicative of a particular climatic condition.

Of course, in all pioneer undertakings, one has often to over-step the limits set by prudence. New ways are thereby opened for fresh observation and original interpretation. But sometimes the limits can also be unjustifiably overstepped, as has happened in the case of the present report in certain places. We have already seen how the aridity indicated by a bed of sands in the Sabarmati section has been assigned by Dr. Zeuner to a possible deforestation resulting from the spread of agriculture in ancient times. This is possible but hardly susceptible to proof. While describing the sequence of tool types discovered in the section, Dr. Zeuner has made the following observation with reference to the presence of pebble tools in the lower horizon and their absence in the upper: 'They are presumably lacking because sand and silt covered the river-gravel. An important raw material was thus no longer accessible to man and this may well have had an effect on the industry' (p. 11). Now, this is a statement which does not stand examination. Had all pebbles of the right size disappeared altogether from the view of early man? Were not many, or perhaps most, palaeoliths above the 'pebble type' themselves been fashioned out of river-rolled pebbles by means of elaborate chipping? At least, that has been the observation in respect of many tools, for they retain some portion of the original, rolled surface. Dr. Zeuner has also regarded cleavers as functionally equivalent to wood-choppers. Their scarcity in one horizon has,

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according to him, been 'possibly a direct result of the reduction of woods with increasing aridity' (p. 11). This would imply that tools of other shapes could not have been used for wood-chopping, which, we hold, is unjustifiable dependence upon precarious premises.

These are questions with regard to which Dr. Zeuner seems to have overstepped the bounds of prudence. But there is plenty in the book which is of first-rate importance. And because it is so, we believe, a pioneer like him is perhaps justified in taking recourse to measures which more cautious scientists would prefer to avoid. Dr. Zeuner has, very rightly, stressed the importance of much more fundamental work in India before correlation with prehistoric scales set up elsewhere can prove reasonably successful. His present report will remain a model of bold attempts at reconstruction even when the fundamental data in hand are very meagre. For this, Dr. Zeuner is less to blame than Indian workers in the same field. If his present report succeeds in rousing the latter to increased activity it would have served a most useful purpose indeed.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN BURMA—By Dr. Niharranjan Ray, D.Lett. and Phil. (Leiden), pp. i-xv and pp. 1–306. Calcutta, 1946. Published by the University of Calcutta, (Price Rs.7-8-0).

The scope and character of this pioneer work on the history of the orthodox Buddhist Church (Theravāda) in Burma, as specified by its author, aim at 'a study in Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations from the earliest times to the British conquest'.

The author has divided it into seven chapters, each dealing with a special subject of his study or, may we say, field of investigation, since many unexplored regions he had to traverse in search of materials of different categories, which were either less known or hitherto quite unknown to us.

The most interesting chapters in Dr. Ray's work are those dealing with 'Early Traces: From the Alleged Aśoka-mission to the Fall of Thaton' (Ch. I), 'Efflorescence: From the Introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in 1057 to the Fall of Pagan Dynasty, *c.* 1287 A.D.' (Ch. II), 'The Great Reformation and its Preamble: 14th and 15th centuries' (Ch. III), 'The Great Controversy: 18th century and after' (Ch. V), and 'Summary and Retrospect' (Ch. VII). In Ch. I (pp. 8-9, 12, and 83-84), the author has allowed himself to be led away by a misstatement of two European scholars, viz. Drs. T. W. Rhys Davids and Vincent A. Smith, which unfortunately, still holds the field, that Asoka sent *missionaries* to countries outside India, including the Hellenistic kingdoms of the West, as if he, like a Pope or a Dalai Lama, was the temporal as well as the spiritual head of a State. His *dūtas* (R.E. XIII) were mere ambassadors, posted in the seats of government of some foreign rulers for purely diplomatic purposes, and should not be confused with the *vināyakas*, 'converters', or *pasādakas*, 'arousers of faith', sent out by the *Saṁgha* of Magadha to preach Buddhism in the distant parts of India or, in other words, outside the pale of *Majjhimadesa*, and only in two neighbouring countries outside India. Aśoka had absolutely no hand in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Buddhist *Saṁgha* and, therefore, was in no way responsible either for the selection of the countries where the religion of the Buddha was to be preached, or for the personnel of the mission to be sent out for the purpose. His *dūtas*, like all other government officials,

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whether high or low, were burdened with an additional duty of preaching the *Dhaṁma*, the religious system evolved by him, which was expected to be carried out along with their routine duties, for the discharge of which, they were appointed and paid; whereas the Buddhist missionaries, who were the *bona fide* members of the Magadhan *Saṁgha*, were not paid for the evangelizing works done by them, so as to be classed amongst the *dūtas*. Again, while the *dūtas*, who were all laymen, were expected to preach the *Dhaṁma*, a non-monachal system of religion, the Magadhan missionaries have been definitely represented as preaching the *Saddhamma* in the countries assigned to them and trying to convert their inhabitants to Buddhism or bring them into the fold of Buddhist monasticism, which they were authorized to do, by virtue of their position in the *Saṁgha*. It is evident from the *Dīpavaṁsa*, the *Pūjāvaliya*, etc. that an ambassador (*dūta*) of Aśoka did go to Ceylon on, what may be called, a purely political mission, before his son, the Sthavira Mahendra, was sent to that country by the Magadhan *Saṁgha* on an ecclesiastical mission. Dr. Ray wonders at the absence of any reference to Burma in the Edicts of Aśoka (p. 9), but the reason is not far enough to seek. While Suvaṇṇabhūmi was listed with the countries within and outside India, for the introduction of the *Saddhamma*, or Theravāda Buddhism, it was not scheduled by that Mauryan Emperor either for the establishment of diplomatic relation or for the preaching of his *Dhaṁma*, the country not having a stable government or being inhabited mostly by barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples. Equally misleading is the information which has been supplied to us by Dr. Ray, on the authority of M. Sylvain Levi and Dr. R. C. Majumdar, (pp. 4-5), without assessing its worth in literary history, that ascribes the *Mahāniddesa* to the first century A.D. or to the beginning of the third century A.D. respectively.

The author's identification of the 'Cilāta' country, mentioned in the inscription of King Māḍhariputa (Māḍhariputa Siri Vīrapurisa of the Ikṣvāku dynasty), with Burma is beyond cavil, and so is also the phonetical identity which he has tried to establish between the names 'Kirāta' and 'Cilāta' (pp. 14–18). As pointed out by Sylvain Lévi, which Dr. Ray has also noted, the name 'Vilāta' (not 'Vilāpa', p. 15, n. 32) occurring in the *Milindapañha* (but not in the *Mahāvaṁsa*) after the word 'Cīna', is a wrong reading for 'Cilāta' and refers to a country. The observation of that *savant* is correct, since in the Sinhalese palm-leaf MSS., it is extremely difficult to distinguish between *vi* and *ci* at certain places. In marshalling literary evidence in support of his theory, Dr. Ray has apparently missed the fact that, according to some eminent Prakrit grammarians, the Prakrit variant of the Sanskrit *Kirāta* is *Cilāda*. In Pali, *Kirāta* is, of course, the regular form, but *Cilāta* is also possible, according to the formulation of Buddhanāga as given in the *Vīrayatthamañjūsā*. Since the 'Cilāta' country has been mentioned frequently along with 'Cīna', or China, there are good reasons to believe, as pointed out by the author, that not only Burma but the whole of the Indonesian sub-continent inhabited by the flat-faced, flat-nosed, and white-skinned 'Kirātas', representing the Mon-Khmer group of peoples, was also implied by the former.

Dr. Ray is perfectly justified in dismissing summarily the tradition that connects the celebrated scholiast Buddhaghosa with Burma; nor does the reviewer see any possibility of connecting Buddhaghoṣa, author of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, with that country. Like the Jains, the tendency of the Burmese Buddhists had been to associate distinguished historical figures, whenever possible, with the development of their religion. The early history of Buddhism in Prome, Pegu, and Thaton, which is primarily

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based on the Chinese evidence and the indigenous archaeological data, is written in a highly scholarly manner, visualizing accurately the different phases in the evolution of that religion in those regions. Of special interest is the history of the Indo-Burmese kings of old Prome, whose names end in '*-Varman*' and '*-Vikarma*', and that of the Burmese king Anawrahta, but for whose proselyting activities towards the cause of Buddhism, that religion would never have taken deep root in Burma and, what is still worse, would probably have died a natural death. It is, however, extremely difficult to accept the opinion of Dr. Ray that Pegu has been referred to in the *Jātaka-Nidāna* and the *Manorathapūraṇī* under the name of Haṁsāvatī. In the Canonical Pali texts, we find references to many ancient towns, particularly of Nothern India, none of which has so far yielded the secret of its existence to the spade of the archaeologist. Like Indian art, religion, philosophy, literature, language, and script, Indianized place-names, too, found their way to Burma through the early Aryan settlers and Buddhist missionaries; and in face of this self-evident historical truth, there is no scope for any such speculation.

In Chaps. II and III, the author definitely stands on firmer ground with the help of Pali and Burmese chronicles, of which the more important ones are the *Sāsanavaṁsa*, the *Hmannan Yazawin*, and the *Mahayazawiṅgyi*. In shifting the relevant historical data and in utilizing them according to their worth, he has given ample evidence of his critical acumen and firm grip at the political and the religious history of Burma, which he has interwoven neatly and deftly. Being free from prejudice, he has frankly admitted the historical value of the sources and the chronological limit to which each one of them is expected to carry us. The sources, not excluding even the *thamaings*, and the source-materials collected by him, are exhaustive and their treatment is scientific. In delineating the history of Theravāda in Burma, the author has neither lost sight of the political history of that country, which should constantly remain in the background, nor the literary developments that had taken place under the aegis of that system. The picture of Theravāda as reflected in the mirror of the Burmese School of Art, he has truly depicted, and the religious alliance of Burma with Ceylon from the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth century, he has correctly and graphically portrayed. Even what has escaped the notice of Paññāsāmī, the reputed author of the *Sāsanavaṁsa*, has not been overlooked by the author. The diverse religious activities of Kyanzittha, Narapatisithu, Wareru, Binnya U, and Mohnyintha, and even of Dhammaceti are apt illustrations thereof. The reviewer, however, does not agree with the author regarding the date of King Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon as given by him (p. 99). Vijayabāhu ruled from A.D. 1058 to 1114, and not from A.D. 1065 to 1120, whether we compute his date by forward method from Kaśyapa V or by backward method from Sāhasamalla, the former system of reckoning being definitely more risky than the latter.

The Great Controversy, '*Ekaṁsika-Pārupaṇa*', is the main theme of Chap. V; and the author, in fitting it into the framework of history, has revealed once again his power of acumen and critical bent of mind as a sober historian, to a remarkable degree. He has not only discussed the nature of that controversy, but also the circumstances that led to it and fostered it. Under what circumstances it ended, he has also told us in great detail. The '*Ekaṁsika-Pārupaṇa*' controversy is as important in the history of the Buddhist Church of Burma as the one relating to the 'Ten Vatthus' (*Dasavatthūni*) in the ecclesiastical history of Buddhism in India, or the one relating to the 'Frequenting of Lay-families' in the history

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of Theravāda in Ceylon, the second one giving rise to a new sect, the Mahāsaṁghikas, and the third, the Dhammarucikas. In the opinion of the reviewer, the controversy over '*Ekaṁsika*' and '*Pārupaṇa*' had its origin, though unsuspected by any ancient or modern writer, in climatic exigency and would never have gathered momentum, if the Thera Guṇābhilaṁkāra's mode of wearing the upper garment was totally overlooked by other Buddhist monks. Fortunately, the trouble that had arisen in the Burmese Buddhist *Saṁgha* over the question of dressing, was suppressed by King Bodawpaya by appointing a committee which was to function under the direction of his preceptor, Nāṇābhisāsanaddhaja. The religious activities of that pious-minded king of Burma were in no way inferior to those of Kaṇiṣka I of India or of Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon, all the three professing the same faith; and this point has been fully developed by the author, as it should be. No less important for the history of Burma as also of Ceylon is that long, interesting, and excellently-documented chapter on 'Burma's Return Gifts to Ceylon' (Chap VI) involving a detailed study of the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Amarāpura Saṁgha (Amarāpuranikāya) in that island, under the auspices of King Bodawpaya mentioned above, and its subsequent growth under the patronage of the Burmese king Mindon-Min (1852–1877).

But by far the most thought-provoking chapter in the whole book is the one entitled 'Summary and Retrospect' (Chap. VIII) in which the author has discussed thoroughly and critically certain abstruse problems connected with the history of Buddhism in Burma and the relation between the State and the Buddhist Church in that country, during the nineteenth century and after, not failing, at the same time, to delineate the background of the same in an appropriate manner, which is necessary for understanding correctly the forces that were operating openly towards moulding or shaping the entire ecclesiastical organization of that religion into a new form, unknown hitherto in India or Ceylon. They were definitely aimed at serving the best interest of the royalty but not of the masses. The chapter is highly interesting, illuminating, and instructive.

In conclusion, we would request the author that, should the second edition of his work be called for, as we do hope in the near future, he would use diacritical marks, if possible, for all the Burmese proper names occurring in his work, to facilitate correct pronunciation, and also revise carefully the General Index, as there are many omissions in it.

The book is well-planned and well-written, and is marked by thoroughness, preciseness and exhaustiveness. An Indian architect has designed and constructed a magnificent edifice of Indo-Burmese Cultural Unity; and it now remains for a Burmese architect to embellish it, where possible, with new and attractive materials discovered in his country. We heartily congratulate the author for achieving this unique success.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

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Calcutta:—Published by the Asiatic Society, and Printed by Norman A. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

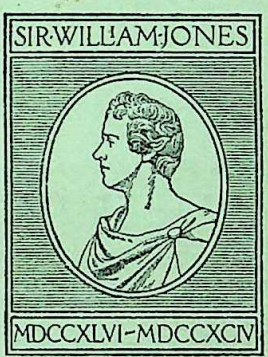
ASIATIC SOCIETY

LETTERS

Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 3

(*Pages 177–253*)

(*Plates 1–3*)



ASIATIC SOCIETY
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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

THE DĀNAVAS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By P. C. SENGUPTA, *Calcutta*

The *Dānavas* in the *Mahābhārata* are variously styled as the *Daiteyas*, *Daityas* or even as *Asuras*. Their probable first contact with the Aryans took place when the king Yayāti of the lunar race married Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of Vṛṣaparvan the king of the *Dānavas*. The incident is described in the *Mahābhārata*, Ādi, Chs. 81–83. Now the kings Nahuṣa and his son Yayāti are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, I, 31, 11 and 17.[1] Thus Nahuṣa was a senior contemporary of the Vedic *ṛṣi*, Hiraṇyastūpa. It seems clear that the king Yayāti was not a fictitious person. The *Mahābhārata* again in Ādi, Ch. 95, gives the following complete list of the kings of the lunar race up to Yudhiṣṭhira thus:—

1.	Nahuṣa.	14.	Akrodhana.	27.	Ajamiḍha.
2.	Yayāti.	15.	Devatithi.	28.	Saṁbarṇa.
3.	Puru.	16.	Ariha.	29.	Kuru.
4.	Janamejaya.	17.	Ṛkṣa.	30.	Vidūratha.
5.	Prācinvān.	18.	Matināra.	31.	Anaśvā.
6.	Saṁyāti.	19.	Taṁsu.	32.	Parīkṣit.
7.	Ahamyāti.	20.	Īlina.	33.	Bhīmasena.
8.	Sārvabhāuma.	21.	Duṣyanta.	34.	Pratiśravas.
9.	Jayatsena.	22.	Bharata.	35.	Pratīpa.
10.	Abācīna.	23.	Bhumanyu.	36.	Śāntanu.
11.	Ariha.	24.	Suhotra.	37.	Vicitravīrya.
12.	Mahābhauma.	25.	Hastī.	38.	Pāṇḍu.
13.	Ayutanāyī.	26.	Vikuṇṭhana.	39.	Yudhiṣṭhira.

It may be doubted if all the above names are of the pure Aryan origin.

From the above list we see that there had been 37 reign periods from Yayāti to Yudhiṣṭhira comprising about 750 years till the year of the Bhārata battle determined as the year 2449 B.C. by me. Hence date of the event, viz., the contact with the *Dānavas* of the Kṣatriya kings comes to about 3200 B.C. This event made perhaps, the first intermixture of the Vedic Aryans with the *Dānavas*. This date is almost the same as the year 3243 B.C., when Prajāpati was cast aside as a god of the Vedic Hindus and Paśupati was accepted instead as a new Vedic god.[2]

It appears that the *Dānava* king Vṛṣaparvan and Yayāti had their States side by side.[3] Puru who was the youngest son of Yayāti by his *Dānava* wife Śarmiṣṭhā succeeded his father in kingship and dominion. The Puru dynasty was thus in origin half *Dānava* and half Aryan.

This sort of intermixture of the Vedic Aryans and the *Dānavas* went on for about 750 years till the time of the Bhārata battle, when also the difference in culture of the two peoples was maintained. The traditional *Asura* or *Dānava* king Kaṁsa had married the two brides, Asti and Prāpti, who were the younger sisters of Sahadeva, the son of Jarāsandha of Magadha,

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[1] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 447; also *Ancient Indian Chronology*, by P. C. Sengupta, page 74.

[2] P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, p. 147 ff.

[3] *MBh.*, Ādi, Ch. 78.

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a Kṣatriya king.[1] Kaṁsa according to tradition was the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa. When Kaṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa, Jarāsandha of Magadha, was by his widowed daughters led to undertake an expedition to Mathura the capital of Kaṁsa to punish Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa and his partisans both Kṣtriyas and *Dānavas* fled westward—Kṛṣṇa to Dvārakā and his partisans to other places in that quarter.[1] Amongst these was the *Dānava* prince Śālva II. There had been another Śālva prince the senior who was a contemporary of Vicitravīrya, the father of Dhṛtaṛāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. Both these Śālva princes were the owners of the *Dānava* fighting machine the *Saubhapurī* as it is styled in the *Mahābhārata*.

Sometime after the installation of the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha (New Delhi), a great wild fire broke out at the Khāṇḍava forest on the river Jumna. The fire or Fire-god was used by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna for the destruction of the whole forest with all the living beings in it. But one being saved by Arjuna was the *Dānava* architect Maya, who out of gratefulness offered to make for the Pāṇḍavas a *sabha* (stadium) at Indraprastha, which was accepted by Kṛṣṇa and he directed that it should so constructed that it would illustrate ideas (of beauty) according to the *Devas*, men and the *Asuras* (i.e. *Dānavas*). The *Dānavas* were acknowledged as better architects and town-planners. Maya here described himself as the *Viśvakarman* of the *Dānavas* (*MBh.*, Sabhā, Ch. 1).

The entire meeting place (i.e. stadium with park) was measured out by Maya as of 5,000 cubits in perimeter. What was the shape of the land measured out is nowhere given explicitly. If it was a square it could be of 3 furlongs each way; if an oblong could be of any indefinite shape. He led an expedition to a place near about the Kailash mountain to collect materials for the stadium. The whole stadium was completed before the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira was performed. Here is the description of the stadium from the *Mahābhārata*[2] as translated by P. C. Roy with slight modifications:—

'And the meeting place (stadium with park) that Maya built, had in it trees of gold and had, O Monarch, a perimeter of five thousand cubits.

---

[1] *MBh.*, Sabhā, Ch. 13.

[2] Text:—

सभा च सा महाराज शातकुम्भमयद्रुमा ॥ २२ ॥
दशकिष्कुसहस्राणि समन्तादायताभवत् ।
यथा वह्नेस्तथार्कस्य सोमस्य च यथा सभा ॥ २३ ॥
भ्राजमाना तथात्यर्थं दधार परमं वपुः ।
अभिघ्नतीव प्रभया प्रभासर्कस्य भास्वराम् ॥ २४ ॥
प्रबभौ ज्वलमानेव दिव्यादिव्येन वर्चसा ।
नवमेघप्रतीकाशा दिवमाहत्यधिष्ठिता ।
आयता विपुला रम्या विपाप्मा विगतक्लमा ॥ २५ ॥
उत्तमद्रव्यसम्पन्ना रत्नप्राकारतोरणा ।
बहुचित्रा बहुधना सुकृता विश्वकर्मणा ॥ २६ ॥
न दाक्षार्ह्यां सुधर्मा वा ब्रह्मणो वाऽथ तादृशी ।
सभारूपेण सम्पन्ना यां चक्रे मतिमान्मयः ॥ २७ ॥
तां स्म तत्र मयेनोक्ता रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च ।

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And it was like unto that of Agni or Sūrya or Soma, possessing an exceedingly beautiful form, shone in great splendour, and by its brilliance seemed to darken the bright rays themselves of the sun. And with the effulgence it exhibited, which was a mixture of both celestial and terrestrial light, it looked as if it was on fire. And like unto a mass of new clouds conspicuous in the sky, the stadium rose filling the view. Indeed the great meeting place that the intelligent Maya had built was so wide, delightful and refreshing, and composed of such excellent materials and golden (-jewelled stone) walls and archways and adorned with so many varied pictures, and was, withal, so rich and well-built, that in beauty it far surpassed the *sudharmā* of him of the Dāśārha (Yādava) race or of the Devas or of Brahmā himself. And eight thousand *Rākṣasas* called *Kiṁkaras* (servants), fierce, large bodied and endowed with great strength, with red coppery eyes and arrowy ears, well armed and capable of ranging through the air, used to guard and support that stadium. And within that stadium Maya placed a *peerless tank* and in that tank were lotuses with leaves of emerald and stalks of marbles and other water flowers on its bosom. And itself variegated with full-blown lotuses and fishes and tortoises of gold; its bottom was without mud and its water transparant. There was a flight of stairs made of crystal leading from the banks to the edge of the waters. And the gentle breezes that swept along its bosom softly shook the flowers that studded it. The banks of that tank were overlaid with slabs of costly marble set with pearl. And beholding that tank thus adorned all around with jewels and precious stones, many princes that came there

---

सभामध्ये सहस्राणि किङ्करा नाम राक्षसाः ॥ २८ ॥
अन्तरीक्षचरा घोरा महाकाया महाबलाः ।
रक्ताक्षाः पिङ्गलाक्षाश्च शुक्तिवर्णाः प्रहारिणः ॥ २९ ॥
तस्यां सभायां नलिनीं चकाराप्रतिमां मयः ।
वैदूर्य्यपत्रविततां मणिनालमयाम्बुजाम् ॥ ३० ॥
पद्मसौगन्धिकवतीं नानाद्विजगणायुताम् ।
पुष्पितैः पङ्कजैश्चित्रां कूर्मैर्मत्स्यैश्च काञ्चनैः ।
चित्रस्फटिकसोपानां निष्पङ्कसलिलां शुभाम् ॥ ३१ ॥
मन्दानिलसमुद्धूतां मुक्ताविन्दुभिराचिताम् ।
महामणिशिलापट्टबद्धपर्य्यन्तवेदिकाम् ॥ ३२ ॥
मणिरत्नचितां तान्तु केचिदभ्येत्य पार्थिवाः ।
दृष्ट्वापि नाभ्यजानन्त तेऽज्ञानात् प्रपतन्त्युत ॥ ३३ ॥
तां सभामभितो नित्यं पुष्पवन्तो महाद्रुमाः ।
आसन्नानाविधा लीलाः शीतच्छायामनोरमाः ॥ ३४ ॥
काननानि सुगन्धीनि पुष्करिण्यश्च सर्वशः ।
हंसकारण्डवोपेताश्चक्रवाकोपशोभिताः ॥ ३५ ॥
जलजानां च पद्मानां स्थलजानाञ्च सर्वशः ।
मारुतो गन्धमादाय पाण्डवान् स्म निषेवते ॥ ३६ ॥
ईदृशीं तां सभां कृत्वा मासैः परिचतुर्दशैः ।
निष्ठितां धर्म्मराजाय मयो राजन् न्यवेदयत् ॥ ३७ ॥

महाभारत, सभा, अः १, २२—३७

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mistook it for land and fell into it with eyes open. And many tall trees of various kinds were planted all around the stadium. Of green foliage and cool shade and ever blossoming, they were all charming to behold. And transplanted trees were placed around always emitting a delicious fragrance. And there were many tanks also in the grounds lying about the stadium, that were adorned with swans, *kāraṇḍavas* and *cakravākas*. And the breezes, bearing the fragrance of lotuses growing in the water and of those flowers growing on land, ministered unto the pleasure and happiness of the Pāṇḍavas. And Maya having constructed such a meeting place (amphitheatre and park) in fourteen months, handed it over to Yudhiṣṭhira.' *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā, Ch. 3, 22–37.

From this description of the great meeting place with park it would be clear that there was citadel planning and execution, with bounding walls and gates; both were studded with marbles with jewels inset as the Sanskrit adjective '*ratna-prākāra-toraṇā*' shows. The construction of the boundary walls necessitated the excavation of wide tanks all round the citadel, from which were derived the clay wherewith to make the bricks both burnt and unburnt. The walls and the gates were covered with marble tiles or even with crystals, hence was derived their brightness.

It was at this stadium that the great meeting of the princes from all over India, took place. The ideas of the *Devas*, *Dānavas* and men as exhibited in the great stadium made by Maya, outwitted Duryodhana when he began thoroughly to inspect it. He mistook land for water and water for land, gate for wall and wall for gate on several occasions.[1]

Kṛṣṇa was nominated by Yudhiṣṭhira as the chief guest at the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.[2] This was seriously objected to by Śiśupāla, the prince of the *Cedis*; an altercation ensued between Bhīṣma and Kṛṣṇa on one side and Śiśupāla on the other. Kṛṣṇa here severed the head of Śiśupāla from his body by a throw of his discus—the *Sudarśana-cakra*—without giving him any chivalric notice of self-defence against the attack. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice was completed within a month of its being begun on March 11, 2462 B.C. (the beginning of the Indian spring when the sun's tropical longitude was 330° according to the usual rule).[3] This was thirteen years before the year of the Bhārata battle, 2449 B.C. The news of this murder of Śiśupāla soon reached the capital of the *Dānava* chief Śālva II while Kṛṣṇa was still at Yudhiṣṭhira's capital Indraprastha. The *Dānava* prince with three of his lieutenants and an army of considerable size marched on to the country of Ānarta (Guzerat) where lay its capital, the city of Dvārakā.

He demanded of its people the whereabouts of Kṛṣṇa as he wanted to avenge the murder of his alleged brother Śiśupāla.[4] This Śiśupāla was perhaps a *Dānava* as he was killed by Kṛṣṇa with his *Sudarśana-cakra*, and as the *Mahābhārata* says that it was a weapon which destroyed the pride of the *Daityas*. In his raid Śālva devastated the country around Dvārakā destroying its pleasure gardens and beauty spots. It is alleged that the four sons of Kṛṣṇa put up a good fight when the citadel of Dvārakā was besieged by Śālva, two of his lieutenants were killed and he himself had serious defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇa's son, Pradyumna. He had to raise the siege and with his army retired to his city of Mārtikāvata (*lit.* a city made of clay bricks both burnt and unburnt and now identified with Merta a small town in the State of Jodhpur).

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[1] *MBh.*, Sabhā, Chs. 46 and 49.
[2] *MBh.*, Sabhā, Ch. 35.
[3] P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 200 and 204, fourth horizontal line in the table.
[4] *MBh.*, Vana, Ch. 14.

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When Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā, he made up an army as far as possible and himself led an expedition to Mārtikāvata, but he did not find him there.[1] He was informed that Śālva in his *Saubhapuṟī*—the huge fighting machine which moved freely on land and by poetic imagination could move over land, air and sea—had gone to the navel of the sea (*Samudra Nābhi*). Kṛṣṇa met Śālva's fighting machine and found its height beyond the range of arrows shot from bows. So many weapons from this Saubhapurī were hurled on the car of Kṛṣṇa that he with his car and his army were almost buried under the missiles. To his amazement he saw the illusion that his father himself was hurled down from the *Saubhapurī*. Somehow he overcame this *Dānava* illusion by his own counter-illusion and as his last resource he conjured up his *Sudarśana-cakra* and threw it against the *Saubhapurī*. His discus (*cakra*) cut the huge machine in twain just as timber is rent asunder by a saw. By the next throw of his discus he could slay the *Dānava* prince Śālva. After his return to Dvārakā he put things in order in the State and the city of Dvārakā and started to meet the Pāṇḍavas again.[2] This small war and the reconstruction of his city and State, took about four months of Kṛṣṇa's time. He met the Pāṇḍavas at *Hastināpura* on the day on which they started on their exile for 13 years after losing the stakes at the second game of dice on the 4th August, 2462 B.C., as determined by me.[3]

The slaying by Kṛṣṇa of Śiśupāla at the beginning of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice caused a very serious revulsion of feeling amongst the princes attending the function against Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas. The *Śālvas and other Dānavas* sided with Duryodhana in the great fight of the Bhārata battle.[4]

Who were these *Dānavas*? Their opponents were the *Devas* (gods). The *Devas* had *Bṛhaspati* (Jupiter) as their priest and the *Dānava* priest was *Śukra* (Venus). In the fight between the *Devas* and *Dānavas*, the latter had the advantage that their priest knew the art of healing better than the priest of the *Devas*. The *Dānava* priest could even restore to life the dead *Dānavas*, in which the *Deva* priest was quite incompetent and the *Mahābhārata* gives us the story how and when the *Deva*-priest's son *Kaca*, succeeded in learning from *Śukra* this art of restoring life to dead beings.[5] This shows that the *Dānavas*' art of healing was superior to that of the *Devas*. 'Dānava' is a fictitious name assumed by a real people or nation. The word itself is readily derived from the word 'Dānu' or 'Danu', and in the Ṛgveda, Dānu is spoken of as the mother of Vṛtra.[6] The Vedic word 'Vṛtra' means 'cloud' or 'clouds'. The *Dānavas* were very probably a dark skinned people who had an improved idea of the amenities of life. They excelled in architecture and *town* and *citadel* planning. Maya their architect in the Pāṇḍava times showed great skill in building up the great stadium with park at Indraprastha for the Pāṇḍavas as set forth before. We have also seen that they could devise and have better fighting machines like the *Saubhapurī* which when put on boats could be moved as well over water. The citadel of Śālva, *Mārtikāvata* was a city built up with clay bricks both burnt and unburnt. The word itself is compounded of the two words *Mārtika* and *avata*. The word *Mārtika* is derived from the word *Mṛttikā*, i.e. clay. Similarly the word 'Vāranā-vata' is compounded of the words *Vāraṇa* and *avata*, 'Vāraṇa'

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[1] *MBh.*, Vana, Ch. 20.
[2] *MBh.*, Vana, Ch. 14, the last verse.
[3] P. C. Sengupta, *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVI, page 7, line 29.
[4] *MBh.*, Bhīṣma, Chs. 9, 18, Droṇa, Ch. 154, etc. See also *MBh.*, Śalya, Ch. 20,
[5] *MBh.*, Ādi, Ch. 67.
[6] *Ṛgveda*, M. I, 32, 9.

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means an 'elephant' and 'Vāraṇāvata' means a city built on the site where wild elephants roamed before.

Now, the fight of Kṛṣṇa with Śālva II is an event of the Pāṇḍava times and according to my finding which happened in 2462 B.C. and the Bhārata battle was fought in 2449 B.C. The civilization represented by the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa remains is dated between 2500 and 2300 B.C.; of these dates the lower limit 2300 B.C. is most definite.

The *Dānavas* of the *Mahābhārata* are thus to be identified with the people who built their citadels at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. The reasons may now be summarized thus: (1) The synchronism of the *Dānavas* of the *Mahābhārata* with the Mohenjo Daro civilization and the chief *Dānavas* sided with Duryodhana in the Bhārata battle. (2) The modes of citadel planning were identical. (3) The culture of the Dānavas was different from the *Deva* or Aryan culture, so also was perhaps the culture of the Mohenjo Daro people. (4) If there were baths inside the citadels of the Mohenjo Daro people, there is every reason to believe that the *Dānavas* of the *Mahābhārata* had also the similar baths in their citadels. (5) The epic *Mahābhārata* is a tale of victory of the Pāṇḍavas and it is a real history.[1] It is unthinkable that the great epic should totally ignore the Mohenjo Daro peoples or it was the *Dānavas* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* who were none other than those peoples. (6) Again in the South Indian Recension of the *Mahābhārata* we have a passage which runs as follows:—

दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादा हि मया कृताः ॥ १४ ॥
रम्याणि सुखगर्भाणि भोगाढ्यानि सहस्रशः ।
उद्यानानि च रम्याणि सरांसि विविधानि च ॥ १५ ॥
विचित्राणि च वस्त्राणि कामगानि रथानि च ।
नगराणि विशालानि साट्टप्राकारवन्ति च ॥ १६ ॥
वाहनानि च मुख्यानि विचित्राणि सहस्रशः ।

MBh., II, Ch. 1, 14–16½.

Cf. also B.O.R. Inst. Edn. of *MBh.* footnote to 2.1.5.

The substance of these lines is—

Maya in order to defend his title of *Viśvakarmā* of the *Dānavas* said to Arjuna that he had formerly made many palaces for the *Dānavas*, which had rooms at once beautiful, conducive to happiness and enjoyable in a thousand ways. He said that he had also made for them beautiful gardens, lakes of different sorts, beautifully printed dresses and cars which could be moved as freely as desired. He had built *big cities for them having palaces and bounding walls*, and had made in thousands, handsome and big conveyances (like the *Saubhapurī*) for them.

This description entirely tallies with the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa remains.

(7) In the *Ṛgveda* we read of a people called *Śiśnadevas* or phalus worshippers, whose city with hundred gates was raided by Indra or his worshippers, the Aryans.[2] These were very probably the *Dānavas* or the

[1] *MBh.*, Ādi, Ch. 62, 20.
[2] *Ṛgveda*, M. VII, 21, 5 and M. X, 99, 3.

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ancestors of the Mohenjo Daro people, who lived in townships built in the citadel form. Not only the emblem *linga* (phalus), but also the Bull of Mahādeva and the Śiva-Paśupati pictures have been found in Mohenjo Daro. We cannot say when and wherefrom the *Dānavas* came to India. They may also have been the old peoples of India alone. The *seven potent reasons* set forth in this paper should leave no doubt in the minds of the readers that the identity of the *Dānavas* with the people of the Mohenjo Daro civilization and those that are also called *Śiśnadevas* in the *Ṛgveda* is fully established. These people merged with the Aryans and formed the great people of India in later times. The first admixture of the two peoples took place about 3200 B.C. as shown before. Now the real Vedic period extends from 4000 to 2449 B.C. according to my finding. It was from about 3200 B.C.,[1] when some of the Dānava gods began to be admitted into the Vedic pantheon. In the *Ṛgveda* itself we may discover the hymns dedicated to the new gods. Hence the existing Hindu literature consisting of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Mahābhārata* are really dependable for a careful selection of data in *Ancient Indian Chronology*. We need not look for epigraphic evidences which even when discovered would be of an unknown nature of writing and would never be readable. The Mohenjo Daro remains show evidence of some sorts of writing but it has not been possible to read them correctly. As to the *Ṛgveda* we may say that the most strenuous care was taken to preserve and transmit correctly the *Sūktas* or the hymns. Again, my researches have shown and will show that in the *Mahābhārata* there is a real substratum of truth specially in the description of the outstanding events of the Pāṇḍava times. Here the omens are always to be rejected as they are mere rhetoric rhapsodies, having no shadow of truth in them, not integral parts of the Pāṇḍava saga as it was initially. When the *Bhārata Saṁhitā* of 24,000 verses was composed all anecdotes or stories were absent.[2] As to the *Ṛgveda* there are no variant readings and its transmission through millenia has been perfect and true. Some form of writing was current[3] from the Vedic age to the *Mahābhārata* times, which was known only to a very limited few. The Śrautins committed the *Ṛgveda* to memory and the *sūtas* the tales of the heroes, and in both cases the memorisers were helped by *writing* however imperfect it might have been. The existing literature of the Hindus consisting of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Mahābhārata* are thoroughly trustworthy, the former in its entirety and the latter in all consistent events and statements. They are as good as epigraphic finds which are of course to be regarded as extremely truthful, but such evidences as to the Vedic and the *Mahābhārata* events would not even if discovered be of any value for reasons pointed out before. This study of the history of the *Dānavas* confirms my date of the Bhārata battle as 2449 B.C. by epigraphic evidence of about 2300 B.C. The chronological findings in my work, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, are all genuinely scientific. They are not like mere *tentative* conjecture about six decades old as to Vedic antiquity by Max Müller and unjustified and easygoing later speculation by Pargiter.

Max Müller's estimate is based on the hypothesis that the whole *Veda* must be pre-Buddhistic literature. The whole *Veda* is divided into *Saṁhitas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*. Each of these sections was allowed by him an average length of period of 200 years for development. Now supposing that the Buddhistic age came about 600 B.C., the development of the

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[1] P. C. Sengupta, *Legend of Prajapati and Rohini* in *A. I. Chronology*, page 14 et seq.

[2] *MBh.*, Anukramaṇikā.

[3] *Ṛgveda*, M. X, 71, 4.

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Saṁhitās was allocated the period 1000 to 1200 B.C. This scheme of tentative Vedic chronology is wholly arbitrary—it is 'something evolved from nothing'. It cannot be held as valid for all times to come.

Pargiter when he gave the date of Bhārata battle as 950 B.C. noticed only the Purāṇic statements, that the dynastic lists of the Magadha kings from the birth of Parīkṣīta to the accession of Mahapadma Nanda, contained the names of 37 kings: he gave to each of the reign periods a mean length of 15 years, got at the total period of 550 years and accepted Nanda's accession at 400 B.C. nearly. He thus gave the year of the Bhārata battle as 950 B.C. He ignored (1) the positive statement of the Purāṇas that the dynastic list had mention only of the most important names of the kings of the Bṛhadratha dynasty. He also ignored (2) the two interregnum periods from the extinction of the Magadha kings to the rise of the Pradyotas of Avanti again from the extinction of the Pradyotas to the rise of the Śiśunāgas of Magadha. There was also no reason for his cutting down the reign periods of the kings as given in the Purāṇas. Pargiter's performance is 'nothing from something'.

There has been a blind following of these dates as correct; faiths and tottering props have been used by subsequent writers and entire Vedic and *Mahābhārata* chronology has thus been squeezed into the period from 1200 B.C., via 950 B.C. down to about 300 B.C. There should be clean fighting on the points at issue and no blind partisanship for a wrong cause. We look for truth and nothing but truth in the finding.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

THE UPANIṢADS AND VEDIC SACRIFICES

By BASANTA KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

(*Received 24-1-1951*)

The view that is generally held by the western scholars is that the authors of the Upaniṣads lost faith in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices and that they realized the conception of One God discarding the conception of many gods which is to be found in the earlier Vedas. Thus Prof. Macdonald writes: 'Though the Upaniṣads generally form a part of the Brāhmaṇas they really represent a new religion which is *in virtual opposition* to the ritual or practical side.' (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 215). Dr. Winternitz writes: 'While the Brahmins were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upaniṣads. From these hermits who were not originally connected with the priestly caste proceeded the forest hermits and wandering ascetics.' (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 237.) Max Müller writes: 'In these Upaniṣads the whole ritual or sacrificial system of the Vedas is not only ignored but directly rejected as useless, nay as mischievous. The ancient gods of the Vedas are no longer recognized' (*Origin of Vedanta*, p. 16). Deussen writes: 'The Ātman doctrine (i.e. the main doctrine of the Upaniṣads) is fundamentally *opposed* to the Vedic cult of the gods and the Brāhmaṇical system of ritual' (*Religion and Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 21). Garbe writes that the Brahmin priest is proficient only at 'excogitating sacrifice after sacrifice, and hairsplitting definitions and explanations of senseless ritualistic hocus pocus. All at once lofty thought appears on the scene. A passionate desire to solve the riddle of the universe and its relation to one's own self holds the mind captive.' Hertel says, 'The Kṣattriyaṣ unable to believe in the Vedic gods substituted instead the idea of nature powers and propounded a philosophy which was essentially a monism,—atheistic, materialistic and morally indifferent.' Dr. Robert Ernest Hume writes: 'No longer is worship or sacrifice or good conduct the requisite of religion in this life or of salvation in the next. Knowledge secures the latter and disapproves the former. The whole religious doctrine of different gods and of the necessity of sacrificing to the gods is seen to be a *stupendous fraud* by the man who has acquired metaphysical knowledge of the monistic unity of the self and of the world in Brahman or Ātman' (*The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 53). Again Dr. Hume writes: 'Sacrifice and works of merit towards hypostatized divinities are, in the light of metaphysical knowledge, seen to be futile' (*Ibid.*, p. 54). Because the Upaniṣads declare that there is One God (Brahman), the western scholars have concluded that 'the authors of the Upaniṣads' did not, like themselves, believe in the existence of the minor gods. Because the Upaniṣads declare that the aim of life is the attainment of salvation through the knowledge of Brahman, the western scholars have concluded that 'the authors of the Upaniṣads' did not believe in the efficacy of sacrifices in securing heaven. But both these inferences are illogical. The ideas of one supreme God and of many subsidiary gods are not contradictory. From the statement that one can attain Brahman through knowledge, it cannot be concluded that one cannot attain heaven by means of Vedic sacrifices. We shall quote

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below some passages from the various Upaniṣads to show that the Upaniṣads also have asserted the existence of minor gods and have confirmed the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices. In the Īśopaniṣad we find the dying soul praying to god Agni (fire-god) to lead the soul by a pleasant path.'[1] In the Kenopaniṣad we find that Brahman appeared in a resplendent form before the gods, and the god of fire (Agni) could not burn a straw nor could the god of air (Vāyu) move it, because Brahman willed it otherwise. It might, perhaps, be argued that this story is intended to teach us that Brahman alone exists and that the minor gods Agni, Vāyu, etc. do not exist. But it cannot be so. Because we find it stated a little later that the gods Indra, Vāyu and Agni surpass the other gods because they first perceived Brahman in close proximity.[2] If the conception of the minor gods is false, it cannot be said that some of these minor gods surpass the others. As regards the futility of the efforts of the minor gods it may be said that human efforts also are futile against the will of Supreme God and, hence, it would be as wrong to conclude that the minor gods do not exist as it would be to conclude that men also do not exist.

We find in the Kenopaniṣad that the rituals are the means of acquiring knowledge. 'Austerities, self-control and rituals are the foundation of the true knowledge contained in the Upaniṣads, the Vedas are the limbs, truth is the body.'[3]

In the Kaṭhopaniṣad the Brahmin boy Nachiketa first learns from Yama how to perform Vedic sacrifices and then gets his lessons in the knowledge of Brahman. 'Oh Yama, you know how to worship the god Agni so that one may attain heaven. Please teach it to me. I have faith.'[4]

When Nachiketā asks about Brahmajñāna, Yama says that the gods also desire to know Brahman (which shows that the conception of minor gods is not rejected in the Upaniṣads). 'In the past the gods also wanted to know it.'[5]

Again, the Kaṭhopaniṣad says, 'All the minor gods exist in Him (Brahman).'[6]

'Out of fear of Brahman the god of fire gives heat, the Sun gives heat, Indra, Vāyu and the fifth god Yama perform their functions.'[7]

The Praśnopaniṣad says, 'Those who perform sacrifices and excavate tanks go to the heaven in the moon.'[8]

The Muṇḍakopaniṣad begins by saying that of all the minor gods, Brahmā first came into existence.[9]

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[1] अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान् । (Īśa. U. 18)

[2] तस्माद्वा एते देवा अतितरामिवान्यान् देवान् यदग्निर्वायुरिन्द्रस्ते ह्येनन्नेदिष्ठं पस्पर्शुः ॥ (Ke. U. 4.2)

[3] तस्यै तपो दमः कर्मेति प्रतिष्ठा वेदाः सर्वांगानि सत्यमायतनम् । (Ke. U. 4.8)

[4] स त्वमग्निं स्वर्ग्यमध्येषि मृत्यो प्रब्रूहि तं श्रद्दधानाय मह्यम् । (Ka. U. 1.1.13)

[5] देवैरत्रापि विचिकित्सितं किल । (Ka. U. 1.1.22)

[6] तं देवाः सर्वेऽर्पिताः । (Ka. U. 2.1.9)

[7] भयादस्याग्निस्तपति भयात्तपति सूर्यः ।
भयादिन्द्रश्च वायुश्च मृत्युर्धावति पंचमः ॥ (Ka. U. 2.3.3)

[8] तद् ये ह वै ते इष्टापूर्ते कृतमित्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते । (Pra. U. 1.9)

[9] ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमः सम्बभूव । (Mu. U. 1.1.1)

The distinction between Brahman and Brahmā should be noted. Brahman is the Supreme God. He created Brahmā who is the maker of the universe.

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The Muṇḍakopaniṣad categorically affirms the truth of the Vedic sacrifices:—

'All this is true, the rituals which were revealed to the sages and which were connected with the Vedic *mantras*.'[1]

The Muṇḍaka also enjoins the performance of Vedic sacrifices:—

'You should constantly perform these sacrifices with the desire for attaining the ultimate truth.'[2]

Again the Muṇḍaka says:—

'They (those who perform sacrifices) enjoy the fruits thereof in heaven and then are born again in this world, or even in lower worlds.'[3]

'The minor gods were created out of the Supreme Gods.'[4]

The Taittiriya Upaniṣad enjoins on the performance of sacrifices.

'You should not neglect to perform the rites in honour of the gods and the ancestors.'[5] (The rites for the gods are the sacrifices. The rites for the ancestors are śrāddha and tarpaṇa.)

Again the Taittiriya Upaniṣad says, 'Pursue the path of religion'[6] in explanation of which Śaṁkarācārya writes: 'So long as one does not realize one's identity with Brahman one should carefully perform the rites laid down in the Vedas and Smṛtis.'[7]

The Chāndogyopaniṣad says, 'The path of religion can be divided into three parts. Sacrifices, study and charity constitute the first part.'[8]

The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad says:—

'It is this Brahman whom the Brahmins desire to know by the performance, without attachment, of sacrifices, charity and austerities.'[9]

From what has been said above it will be abundantly clear that in practically each of the principal Upaniṣads belief in the existence of the minor gods, as well as in the efficacy of sacrifices, has been affirmed. It may perhaps be considered that the Upaniṣads do not represent one consistent view throughout, and although the passages quoted above may support the belief in the existence of many gods and in the efficacy of sacrifices, there are other passages which deny the efficacy of sacrifices. I shall, therefore, examine those passages which have been quoted in support of the view expressed by the western scholars. One such passage is quoted below.

'These sacrifices are like frail crafts. Those who hail them as best have again to fall victims to old age and death.'[10] This passage merely states that one cannot avoid rebirth by means of sacrifices. It does not imply

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[1] तदेतत् सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन् । (Mu. U. 1.2.1)

[2] तान्याचरथ नियतं सत्यकामाः । (Mu. 1.2.1)

[3] नाकस्य पृष्ठे ते सुकृतेऽनुभूत्वा इमं लोकं हीनतरं वा विशन्ति । (Mu. U. 1.2.10)

[4] तस्माच्च देवाः बहुधा सम्प्रसूताः । (Mu. U. 2.1.7)

[5] देवपितृकार्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । (Tai. U. 1.11.2)

[6] धर्मं चर । (Tai. U. 1.11.1)

[7] प्राग् ब्रह्मात्मप्रतिबोधान्नियमेनानुष्ठेयानि श्रौतस्मार्तकर्माणि ।
(Śaṁkara-bhāṣya Tai. U. 1.11.1)

[8] त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमः । (Ch. U. 2.23.1)

[9] तमेतं ब्राह्मणाः विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । (Bṛ. U. 4.4.22)

[10] प्लवा ह्येतेऽदृढा यज्ञरूपाः अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म ।
एतच्छ्रेयो ये प्रवेदयन्ति मूढा जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापि यन्ति ॥ (Mu. U. 1.2.7)

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that one cannot go to heaven by performing sacrifies. What is meant here is that by performing sacrifices one can attain heaven, but one cannot remain in heaven for ever; as soon as the merit acquired by performing sacrifices and other good acts is exhausted one has to leave heaven and be born again; hence, the highest aim of life cannot be the attainment of heaven by the performance of sacrifices, it should be the attainment of salvation by the knowledge of Brahman. The passage quoted above occurs in the second part of the first Muṇḍaka. The very first verse of this part affirms that the sacrifices are true and enjoins on their performance.[1] It will thus be seen that this passage does not discard the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices. Another passage which is quoted in support of the theory that the Upaniṣads condemn sacrifices occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. It states that the man who performs sacrifices conduces to the benefit of the gods as a domestic animal is beneficial to a man.[2] Later on it is stated that if a man attains knowledge of Brahman he ceases to perform sacrifices, the gods do not like it as they are thereby deprived of the offerings, hence the gods try to put obstacles to a man's attempts to attain knowledge of Brahman. Surely this passage does not deny the existence of minor gods, nor does it deny the efficacy of sacrifices in attaining heaven. It harps on the central note of the Upaniṣads that the attainment of salvation is the highest aim of life and that the attainment of heaven by the performance of sacrifices is a much lower aim.

As regards the statement of Dr. Winternitz quoted above that those who discussed the philosophical questions of the Upaniṣads formed a group different from those who performed Vedic sacrifices, we may mention that the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad states that King Janaka was performing a sacrifice and that the Brahmins who assembled there discussed philosophical questions.[3] Similarly in the Chāndogyopaniṣad we find that the sage Uṣasti went to the king who was performing a sacrifice and established the superiority of his philosophical knowledge and that he was then requested by the king to officiate as priest.[4] It will thus be seen that the same persons both performed Vedic sacrifices and discussed philosophical questions. The statement of Dr. Winternitz is, therefore, not correct.

Far from the Upaniṣads revealing any disrespect for the knowledge contained in the earlier portion of the Vedas (*viz.* the Saṁhitās) the Upaniṣads frequently quote passages from the Saṁhitās as authority for the statements made in the Upaniṣads, introducing such passages with remarks like these—'Thus we find the following verse in the Vedas.'[5] The Upaniṣads never arrogate to themselves a position superior to the Saṁhitās (or the earlier portions of the Vedas). The knowledge contained in the Upaniṣads is nowhere paraded as new discoveries. On the other hand, it is expressly stated that this knowledge has been handed down from preceptor to disciple in a long chain whose first link was contemporary with the beginning of creation. Thus it is stated at the beginning of the Muṇḍakopaniṣad that the knowledge contained therein was taught by Brahmā, the creator of the universe, to his son Atharva, Atharva taught it to Angir,

---

[1] तदेतत् सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन् ।
* * *
तान्याचरथ नियतं सत्यकामाः । (Mu. U. 1.2.1)

[2] यथा पशुरेवं स देवानाम् । (Br. U. 8.4.10)

[3] Br. U. 3rd Chapter.

[4] Ch. U. I, 10 and 11.

[5] तदेनदृचाऽभ्युक्तम् । (Pra. U. 1.7, Mu. U. 3.2.10)
तदेष श्लोकः । (Pra. U. 1.10, 4.10, 6.5)

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Angiras to Satyavāha, Satyavāha taught it to Angiras, Angiras to Śaunaka. The Īsopaniṣad also states that the knowledge contained in it was handed down from preceptor to disciple.

'We have heard this from the wise men who have taught us.'[1]

Again, there is no justification for the supposition that those sages who composed the Saṁhitā portion of the Vedas had no idea of one Supreme God. References to the Supreme God are to be found in many places in the Saṁhitās. In the Nāsadiyasūkta (Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā 10.129) we find the following:

'(During the time of pralaya) the Supreme God alone existed. Māyā remained merged in Him. There was nothing except Him.'[2] Again, in the same sūkta we find 'The Supreme God who controls the entire universe remains in the transcendental region.'[3] In the Hiraṇyagarbhasūkta (Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā 10.121) we find the following passages:

'The commands of the Supreme God are obeyed by the minor gods.'[4]

'By His Majesty He (the Supreme God) was the sole king of the Universe.'[5]

'Who was the one God over all the gods.'[6]

The following passages occur in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā 10.90):

'He has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes and a thousand legs (i.e. the heads, eyes, etc. of all beings are His heads, His eyes and His legs—Sāyaṇa). He covers the entire universe and transcends the universe by the greater portion of his Being.'[7]

'That Being is all this universe, all that was, all that will be.'[8]

'The entire universe is the manifestation of His power. He is superior to all this. All beings form a fourth part of Him. His three parts are imperishable and remain in Heaven.'[9]

Again we find in the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā: 'It is the one Being whom the wise call by various names, Indra, Yama, Vāyu.'[10]

The 10th maṇḍala of the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā contains the following line:—

'Who is our father, creator and the maker of our destinies.'[11]

---

[1] इति शुश्रुम धीराणां ये नस्तद्विचचक्षिरे। (I.U. 10 and 13)

[2] आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं तस्माद्धान्यन्नपरं किंचनास। (Ṛg V.S. 10.129.2)

[3] योऽस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्। (Ṛg V.S. 10.129.7)

[4] उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवाः। (Ṛg V.S. 10.121.2)

[5] महित्वा एक इद्धु राजा जगतो बभूव। (Ṛg V.S. 10.121.3)

[6] यो देवेष्वधिदेव एक आसीत्। (Ṛg V.S. 10.121.8)

[7] सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपाद्।
स भूमिं सर्वतो वृत्वात्यतिष्ठद्दशांगुलम्॥ (Ṛg V.S. 10.90.1)

[8] पुरुष एव इदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यम्। (Ṛg V.S. 10.90.2)

[9] एतावानस्य महिमातो ज्यायांश्च पूरुषः।
पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि॥ (Ṛg V.S. 10.90.0)

[10] एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति।
इन्द्रं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः॥ (Ṛg V.S. 2.2.32)

[11] यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता। (Ṛg V.S. 10.82.3)

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It cannot thus be said that the 'authors' of the Saṁhitā portion of the Vedas could not conceive of one Supreme God and that their power of imagination was confined to various minor deities. In fact both in the Saṁhitās and the Upaniṣads we find mention of One Supreme God as well as many minor deities, the idea being that the minor deities were created by the Supreme God. There is nothing illogical in the conception of the Supreme God having created the minor deities. The minor deities are a class of beings like men and animals—of course a much higher class of beings—on whom were conferred higher powers and greater responsibilities.

There is thus no basis for the statement of western scholars that there is mutual contradiction between the Jñānakāṇḍa and the Karmakāṇḍa of the Vedas.

Western scholars who are unfamiliar with Vedic traditions may be pardoned for having misunderstood the Vedas. But it is a matter of great regret that many prominent modern scholars of India, following no doubt the lead of the western scholars, have made the same mistake in such a fundamental matter.

Thus Prof. Hirianna of the Mysore University writes, 'The Upaniṣads primarily represent a spirit different from and even hostile to ritual and embody a theory of the universe quite distinct from the one that underlies the sacrificial teaching of the Brāhmaṇas' (*Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 48).

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University writes, 'The Upaniṣads are an entirely different type from the rest of the Vedic literature as indicating the path of knowledge (jñānamārga) as *opposed* to the path of work (karmamārga). The Upaniṣads do not require the performance of any action but only reveal the ultimate truth and reality' (*History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 28).

The path of knowledge is not opposed to the path of work. On the other hand the path of work leads to the path of knowledge. The Upaniṣads do require the performance of acts (देवपितृकार्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । Tai. U. 1.11.2.)

Prof. R. D. Ranade of the Allahabad University writes: 'The spirit of Upaniṣads is, on the other hand, barring a few exceptions here and there, entirely antagonistic to the sacrificial doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas.' (*Constructive Survey of Upanisadic Philosophy*, p. 6.)

The Upaniṣads require the performance of sacrifices for the purification of the mind. What Prof. Ranade has stated to be exceptions is the general rule.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes regarding the origin of the Upaniṣads, 'Men sat down to doubt the gods they ignorantly worshipped and reflected on the mysteries of life. From primitive polytheism to systematic philosophy it is a long, long way.' (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 71-72.)

The Upaniṣads refer to the Saṁhitās with great veneration and not as the product of ignorance. If the Saṁhitās are polytheistic the Upaniṣads also are polytheistic as both Saṁhitas and Upaniṣads refer to the existence of minor deities as well as the Supreme God.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji of the Lucknow University writes, 'Indeed the Upaniṣads really expound a new religion which is *opposed* to the sacrificial ceremonial.' (*Hindu Civilization*, p. 118.)

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

THE PHONEMES OF TIBETAN (U-TSANG DIALECT) WITH A PRACTICAL ROMANIZED ORTHOGRAPHY FOR TIBETAN-SPEAKING READERS

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(*Received November 17, 1950*)

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji)

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INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose of this paper is two-fold. The writer has been confronted in the bulk of existing literature on the Tibetan language with either an uncertain phonetic rendering of Tibetan words or an attempt to systematize colloquial pronunciation in terms of Tibetan spelling habits

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only.* Neither method has ascertained the acoustic units that are meaningful to the native speaker. This paper seeks (*a*) to define these units or phonemes, to describe the phonetic forms which they assume under various associations in the morpheme, syllable, word and phrase; and (*b*) to suggest an orthography with one Roman letter symbol for each phoneme.

2. In the *Appendix* an attempt is made to relate the written form of Tibetan with the spoken language. However, the phonemic analysis has been conducted as though a written form did not exist.

3. The informant whom the writer used principally in conducting his investigation is Darma Lama, aged forty years, of Shigatze, Tsang Province, Tibet. This man is literate, having trained in Trashilunpo monastery and resided in Lhasa for some time. He also speaks Nepali. He readily states contrasts in dialects with which he is familiar, pronouncing words as said by a trader, or a localism of Shigatze or Lhasa. He screens out literary Tibetan expressions from text material. In the above title the writer has called this dialect that of U-Tsang province. In reality it is that of his informant which the writer of necessity assumes as a standard from which other informants' speech habits are considered describable variants.

I. PHONEMES OF TIBETAN

A. Description of the Phonemes

1. *Number and Types.*†—In this dialect there are 27 contoids: b, ḃ, d, ṫ, d^r, $ṫ^r$, g^y, k^y, g, k, d^z, $ṫ^s$, j, č, s, š, l, λ, r, R, m, n, n^y, ŋ, h, y, w; and 5 vocoids: i, e, u, o, a. In addition there are two suprasegmental phonemes of tone. Tibetan is spoken entirely with the use of egressive pulmonic air utilizing the oral and nasal cavities separately or together.

2. *Description of individual phonemes.*

(*a*) Contoids.

(1) Stops:

b—a bilabial unaspirated stop occurring either voiced [b] or voiceless [p]. The voiced form is in evidence when the phoneme is in close juncture with adjacent vowels and voiced contoids, otherwise the voiceless form predominates. Of rarer occurrence is a prenasalized voiced form [ⁿb] heard when the voicing is strong and usually in syllables of low tone.

** hbar·ba	par·wa	to burn	bar·wa
pat·pa	pä′·pa′	leech	bat′·ba′
par·chhas	par′·čä ?′	photo	bar′·čaṫ′
sngon·po	ŋöm′·bo′	blue	ŋon′·bo′

* 'Grammar of the Tibetan Language'—H. B. Hannah, Calcutta, 1912.
'Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan'—C. A. Bell, Calcutta, 1939.
'Tibetan Manual'—V. C. Henderson, Calcutta, 1903.
'Tibetan-English Dictionary'—Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1902.
'Tibetan Grammar'—Jäschke, Berlin, 1929.
'Tibetan Word Book'—Gould and Richardson, Oxford University Press, 1943.

† The symbols here used represent certain phones perceptible when the phonemes occur in a speech continuum rather than in isolation. This permits symbols of greater contrast in form, and therefore, it is hoped, easier to follow through the paper.

** The symbolism is first letter by letter romanization of Tibetan after the better known system. Secondly, a phonetic rendering as heard as an isolated word. Thirdly, the English meaning and fourthly, a phonemic rendering. The raised dot divides syllables, and the (′) indicates a high tone syllable, low tone not being marked.

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ṗ—a voiceless bilabial aspirated stop [ṗ] in word-initial and usually word-medial positions. A voiceless unaspirated form [p] may occur as a free variant in syllable-initial word-medial position (the *b* phoneme usually takes the voiced variant form [b] when occurring in the same context to establish contrast). This phoneme in syllable-final position assumes various phonetic forms: [ṗ] when followed by voiceless aspirated contoids and more commonly when in word final position; [p̚] under the same conditions, but less commonly in word final position; [b] when followed by voiced contoids, e.g. *l* or *r*; 'zero' when word final or medial. This may be with or without lengthening of the previous vowel though it should be added that this, the 'zero' variant form, is rather infrequently observed.

a·pha	ʔa′·ṗa′	father	a′·ṗa′
bar·chhad	ṗar·čä ʔ′	accident	ṗar·čaṫ′
bug·pa	ṗuk·pa′	hole	ṗuk̚·ba′
snag·bum	nak̚′·ṗum	ink-pot	nak̚′·ṗum
pheb	ṗee′ (or) ṗeṗ′	come (imp)	ṗeṗ′

d—an unaspirated stop formed at the dental point of articulation by the tip of the tongue [t]. It may be either voiced [d] or voiceless [t] or prenasalized [ⁿd] under the same conditions as were described under *b*.

rta	ta′	horse	da′
hdod·pa	tö·pa′	wish	doṫ·ba′
da·lta	ṫa·ⁿda′	now	ṫa·da′
hdug	duk̚ (or) du ʔ	is, are	duk̚

ṫ—a voiceless aspirated stop formed also at the dental point of articulation by the tip of the tongue [ṫ]. A voiceless unaspirated form [t] may occur as a free variant in syllable-initial word-medial position. This phoneme in syllable-final position occurs only as a modification of the preceding vowel plus (in sentence-final and often phrase-final position) a glottal closure. The assignment of this phoneme to account for this phenomenon is discussed under the section on Vowels.

lchags·thab	jak̚′·ṫap′	stove	jak̚′·ṫaṗ′
da	ṫa	now	ṫa
thag·pa	ṫak̚′·pa′	rope	ṫak̚′·ba′
yod	yö ʔ	to be	yoṫ

d^{r}—an unaspirated stop formed at the alveolar ridge by the tip of the tongue [t̪]. The glide of the tongue from the crest to the trough of stricture (i.e. from the full stop to the full vowel following) passes through the position of a back semivowel [y̆] (corresponding to the non-flap, non-fricative 'r' of some dialects of English). This sound is a non-phonemic 'off-glide', and is not to be confused with the phonemic *r* and *R* of Tibetan which have a different mode of formation. Since this 'off-glide' is heard in most instances except where the slightly fronted tongue position anticipating the vowels *i* and *e* will at times obscure it, the phoneme is assigned the symbol d^{r}, the [^{r}] indicating the off-glide. This phoneme

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may be voiced [ḍʳ], voiceless [ṭʳ] or prenasalized [ⁿḍʳ] under the same conditions as phoneme *b*.

bkrag·mdangs	ḍʳak′·daŋ	glitter	dʳak′·daŋ
hgro·ba	ḍʳo·wa	to go	dʳo·wa
gdong·hdre	doŋ·ḍʳɛ	ghost	doŋ·dʳɛ
spro·po	ṭʳo′·po′	pleasant	dʳo′·bo′

ṭʳ—a voiceless aspirated stop with a back (frequently voiceless semivowel off-glide formed at the alveolar ridge by the tip of the tongue [ṭ̣ʳ]. A voiceless unaspirated form [ṭʳ] may occur as a free variant in word-medial position.

phrug·gu	ṭ̣ʳu′·ku	child	ṭʳuk′·ku
grwa·pa	ṭ̣ʳa·ba′	monk	ṭʳa·ba′
khrims	ṭ̣ʳĭm′	law	ṭʳim′
pho·brang	ṗo′·ṭʳaŋ	palace	ṗo′·ṭʳaŋ

gʸ—an unaspirated stop formed at the front velar area (or palatal as contrasted to back velar or soft palate for convenience of terms) by the mid portion of the tongue. The release of the stop to form the following vowel yields an off-glide, phonetically a front semivowel [y]. This off-glide is non-phonemic, hence the phoneme is written *gʸ*. *gʸ* may be voiced [gʸ] or voiceless [kʸ] or prenasalized [ⁿgʸ] after the pattern described for phoneme *b*. *gʸ* when followed by high front vowels in rapid speech frequently phonetically approaches the formation of the phoneme *j*.

rkub·kyag	kup′·kʸa?′	chair	guṗ′·gʸak′
kyog·kyog	kʸɔ′·kʸɔ?′	bent	gʸok′·gʸok′
rgyang	kʸaŋ	distance	gʸaŋ
rgyab·la	kʸab·la	behind	gʸaṗ·la

kʸ—a voiceless aspirated stop formed at the palatal arch by the mid area of the tongue [k̆ʸ]. Its release is a non-phonemic, frequently voiceless, off-glide [y]. A voiceless unaspirated form [kʸ] may be observed as a free variant in word-medial position. This phoneme when followed by high front vowels in rapid speech frequently phonetically approaches the formation of the phoneme *č*.

gzim·khyi	sim·k̆ʸi′	dog (H)	sim·k̆ʸi′
spyi·khyab	ji′·k̆ʸaṗ′	agent	ji′·k̆ʸaṗ′
gyon·pa	k̆ʸöm·ba′	to put on	k̆ʸon·ba′

g—an unaspirated stop formed by contact of the back of the tongue with the back velar area. It may be either voiced [g] or voiceless [k] or prenasalized [ⁿg] under the same conditions as described under phoneme *b*.

rkang·pa	kaŋ′·ba′	foot	gaŋ′·ba′
skar·ma	kar′·ma	star	gar′·ma
mgo	ko	head	go
dgon·pa	göm·ba′	monastery	gon·ba′

k̆—a voiceless aspirated stop formed by contact of the back of the tongue with the back velar area [k̆]. A voiceless unaspirated form [k] may freely vary with the 'norm' in syllable-initial word-medial position. This phoneme in syl-

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lable-final position may vary under various associations. Followed by voiceless aspirated contoids it will commonly be [k̚] or [k] or often 'zero'. Followed by voiced contoids or vowels the forms [k] and [g] predominate. Word and sentence final the phoneme is [k], [k̚], [ʔ] or 'zero'. In the case of the last two added laryngalization and lengthening of the previous vowel are common features. Variation is contextually rather frequent and unpredictable.

kha·lag	k̚a′·laʔ	food	k̚a′·lak̚
khang·pa	k̚aŋ′·pa′	house	k̚aŋ·ba′
sge·khung	kɛ·k̚uŋ′	window	ge·k̚uŋ′
thugs·rig	t̚u′·rɪk̚	clever	t̚u′·rik̚
mgyogs·po	gʸɔk·po′	quick	gʸok̚·bo′

(2) Affricates:

d^z—an unaspirated affricate formed in the mid-alveolar area by the blade of the tongue. Phonetically it consists of a stop [t] with a sibilant [z] release. This phoneme is usually voiced slightly [d^z] and prenasalization is not uncommon [$^nd^z$].

yin·tsang	yɪn·dᶻaŋ′	as it is	yin·dᶻaŋ′
skyag·rdzun	kʸak̚′·tˢün	a lie	gʸak̚′·dᶻun
rtswa	tˢa′	grass	dᶻa′
mdze·po	dᶻɛ.bo′	beautiful	dᶻe.bo′

t^s—a voiceless aspirated affricate formed in the mid-alveolar area by the blade of the tongue. Phonetically it consists of a stop [t] with a voiceless sibilant [s] release. In word-medial position it is frequently less aspirated than in word-initial position.

rgya·mtsho	kʸa·t̚ˢo′	ocean	gʸa·t̚ˢo′
tshar·ba	t̚ˢar′·wa	to finish	t̚ˢar′·wa
tshwa	t̚ˢa′	salt	t̚ˢa′

ǰ—an unaspirated affricate formed in the alveo-palatal area by the blade of the tongue. Phonetically it consists of a stop [ṭ] with a sibilant [š] (or) [ž] release. This phoneme may be voiced [ḍž] or voiceless [ṭš] or prenasalized [^{n}ḍž] under the same conditions described under phoneme *b*.

bchu	ǰu′	ten	ǰu′
sems·chan	sɛm′·ǰä^n′	creature	sem′·ǰan′
thugs·rje·chhe	t̚ʊ′·ǰɛ·čɛ′	thank you	t̚u′·ǰe·če′
ljang·khu	ǰaŋ·k̚u′	green	ǰaŋ·k̚u′

č—a voiceless aspirated affricate formed in the alveo-palatal area by the blade of the tongue. Phonetically it is a stop [ṭ'] with a voiceless sibilant [š] release. In word-medial position a less aspirated form may freely vary with the 'norm'.

rtswa·chhag	tˢa′·ča ʔ′	fodder	dᶻa′·čak̚′
chhang·khang	čaŋ′·k̚aŋ′	tavern	čaŋ′·k̚aŋ′
jag·pa	čak̚·ba′	robber	čak̚·ba′
byang	čaŋ	north	čaŋ

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(3) Sibilants:

s—a voiceless grooved spirant of sibilant quality formed in the mid-alveolar area by the blade of the tongue.

gzugs·po	suk·po′	body	suk̚·bo′
za·ba	sa·wa	to eat	sa·wa
sang·nyin	saŋ′·nʸiⁿ	tomorrow	saŋ′·nʸin
gsar·pa	sar′·pa′	new	sar′·ba′

š—a voiceless grooved spirant of sibilant quality formed in the alveo-palatal area by the blade of the tongue.

shes·pa	šɛ′·pa′	to know	šeʔ′·ba′
shing·sdong	šiŋ′·doŋ	tree	šiŋ′·doŋ
gzhung	šʊŋ	government	šuŋ
zhing	šiŋ	field	šiŋ

(4) Laterals:

l—a voiced frictionless lateral formed at the dental point of articulation by the tip of the tongue. This phoneme when occurring in syllable-final position may vary freely from [l] to 'zero' with frequent vowel lengthening. (Note: the Lhasa colloquial modifies the quality of vowels *a*, *o* and *u* preceding final *l*. In Shigatze there is no such modification.)

dngul	ŋüü′	silver	ŋul′
blug·pa	luk′·pa′	to pour	luk̚′·ba′
bkah·lan	ka′·läⁿ	answer	ga′.lan
sbrul	ḍʳül	snake	dʳul

λ—a voiceless, moderately fricative lateral formed at the dental point of articulation. The stricture is often irregularly formed with closure of the air passage before the lateral release, yielding phonetically the voiceless affricative [tɬ].

lha·khang	λa·k̚aŋ′	shrine	λa·k̚aŋ′
lham·bzo·ba	λəm·so·wa	cobbler	λam·so·wa
lhod·lhod	λö·λö ?	leisure	λoʔ·λoʔ

(5) Flaps:

r—a voiced flap formed in the alveolar area by a single non-continuant flap of the tongue tip. This phoneme when occurring syllable final freely varies from the flap to a stricture-less form equivalent to a lengthening of the preceding vowel. The intermediate forms tend to have their point of stricture in the locale of the fully formed flap and not in the alveo-palatal area where the off-glide of the t^r phoneme is formed. The release of the syllable-final fully-formed flap yields a non-phonemic phone of high central vowel quality [rⁱ].

bskor·ba	kɔr′·wa	encircle	gor′·wa
hbar·hbur	parⁱ·burⁱ	uneven	bar·bur
ra	ra	goat	ra
gang·ri	k̚aŋ·ri	snow-mountain	k̚aŋ·ri

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R—a voiceless flap of varying fricative quality formed in the back alveolar area by a single flap of the tongue tip. A freely variant form is slightly retroflexed and strikes the alveolar ridge yielding a phonetic complex which may be written as a combination of the phone [š] with a back semivowel [ɣ̈] off-glide [šɣ̈], the semivowel phone being of a rather fricative voiceless character.

hrib·tsa·gchig·la	Rip·tˢA·ɣ̈g′·la	in a short time	Rip·dᶻa′·ɣ̈ik′·la
pho·hrang	p̊o′·Raŋ	bachelor	p̊o′·Raŋ

(6) Nasals:

m—a voiced bilabial nasal. In syllable-final position it varies to nasalization of the preceding vowel or 'zero' in a very limited number of contexts.

na·bzah	nam·sa	cloth	nam·sa
ming	mɭŋ	name	miŋ
bu·mo	p̊u·mo	girl	p̊u·mo
dmar·po	mar′·po′	red	mar′·bo′

n—a voiced nasal with dental point of closure. In syllable-final position it freely varies to nasalization of the preceding vowel in a large number of contexts. The vowel is often lengthened accordingly.

sa·snum	sa′·num′	oil	sa′·num′
nor′·ba	nor·wa	to err	nor·wa
nag·po	nak·po′	black	nak·bo′
don·la	t̊ön·la	concerning	t̊on·la

nʸ—a voiced nasal formed by closure at the palatal area by the mid portion of the tongue. Phonetically there is usually a non-phonemic off-glide [ʸ].

smyug·ma	nʸʊŋ′·ma	bamboo	nʸuŋ′·ma
rnying·pa	nʸɭŋ′·ba′	old	nʸiŋ′·ba′
nyo·ba	nʸo·wa	to buy	nʸo·wa
nyi·ma	nʸi·ma	sun	nʸi·ma

ŋ—a voiced nasal formed by closure at the velar area by the back of the tongue. In syllable-final position it varies only at the end of clauses or sentences to a nasalization of the preceding vowel, and this rarely.

lnga	ŋa′	five	ŋa′
rnga·ba	ŋa′·wa	to reap	ŋa′·wa
sku·ngo	ku′·ŋo	sir	gu′·ŋo
grangs·ka	t̊ʳaŋ·ga′	number	t̊ʳaŋ·ga′

(7) Semivowels:

h—a voiceless frictionless spirant whose transient quality is determined by the following vowel.

ha·chang	ha·ɣ̈aŋ′	very	ha·ɣ̈aŋ′
ham·pa	həm·ba′	avarice	haṁ·ba′

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y—a high front semivowel, usually unrounded though not infrequently rounding in assimilation with following rounded vowels.

yag·po	yak·po′	good	yak·bo′
yab·yum	yap·yum	parents	yap·yum
gyug·pa	yuk′·pa′	to throw	yuk′·ba′

w—a high back rounded semivowel.

wa·mo	wa·mo	fox	wa·mo
dbang	waŋ′	authority	waŋ′
rko·ba	ko′·wa	to dig	go′·wa

(*b*) Vocoids.

(1) Zones: The vowel area of speech is subdivided into five significant zones in Tibetan (contrast with the eleven zones in the writer's dialect of English). This gives each vocalic phoneme a fairly wide range of variation.

(2) Functional Groups: We may divide the five vowels into two groups, namely the 'unrounded' vocoids: *i* and *e*, and the 'rounded' ones: *u*, *o* and *a*. This division is peculiar to Tibetan in that each of these groups tends to form variants of a type under certain associations.

(3) Vowel Modification: At this point it is to be noted that the dental phonemes, *l* and *n*, occurring in syllable-final position modify the preceding rounded vowels in the same manner. *l* may be voiced or 'zero' leaving the modified vowel of often increased length as the only evidence of its existence. (See Note under *l*.) *n* may be voiced or 'zero' leaving the modified and at times, lengthened vowel with a nasalized quality. All other final consonants which occur syllable final and are phonetically similar to their forms in syllable-initial position give no such vowel modification. There remains, however, syllables with the same vowel modification to which neither *l* nor *n* may be added as a syllable-final variable. These syllables have usually a 'zero' final consonant, but may as a variant add a glottal closure [ʔ], and frequently do so when the syllables are in sentence-final position. It is logical then to assume that the other dental phoneme *t* is connected with this phenomenon. (See B. Distribution, Para. 2 for choice of *t* rather than *d*.) The fact that Tibetan script supplies ར or ས to indicate this vowel modification is of interest and is mentioned further in the appendix.

The genitive forms of *a*, *o*, *u*, *e* and *i* are [ä], [ö], [ü], [e] and [i] respectively, the 'rounded' vowels being fronted with no evidence of a syllable-final contoid, 'zero' or otherwise. In this case the assimilation of an inflective morpheme *i* as provided in Tibetan script satisfies the requirement of a cause.

The effect of the dentals seems to be that in their formation the tongue is at its maximum fronted position, and in the movement to accommodate the tongue to this position preceding 'back' rounded vowels are fronted. The front unrounded vowels *i* and *e* are not affected. Conversely a rare variant of the front unrounded vowels is their shifting to a back unrounded position following the velar consonants *g*, *k* and *ŋ*.

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(4) Vowel Description:

i—a high front unrounded vocoid. In open syllables (those in which the vowel is in final position) the vowel is a bit higher [i] than in closed syllables (those with a final consonant) where the phone is [ɪ]. An infrequent variant of this phoneme is a high back unrounded phone [ɨ] following velar or more rarely still palatal contoids.

bris·ba	ʧʳi·wa	to write	ʧʳiʧ·wa
dbyin·yul	ɪn′·yül	England	in′·yul
mig	mɪk̚	eye	mik̚
zin·pa	sɪm·ba′	to seize	sin·ba′

e—a mid front unrounded vocoid [ɛ]. Following velar or palatal contoids this phoneme may vary to a mid-back-unrounded phone [ɘ̈]. This variation is infrequently observed.

sngon·la	ŋɛn′·la/ŋɘ̈ⁿ·la	before	ŋen′·la
ya·tse	ya·dᶻɛ′	duck	ya·dᶻe′
red	rɛʔ	to be	reʧ
re·ba	re·wa	hope	re·wa
bag·leb	ƥag·lep	bread	ƥak̚·leƥ

u—a high back rounded vocoid. In open syllables it is frequently perceptually higher [u] than in closed syllables [ʊ]. It may vary in either syllable type to a close mid position slightly lower than [ʊ]. (This may be interpreted by a speaker of English as [o] at times due to the more restricted vowel zoning of English.) In closed syllables ending in dental contoids, though these may be in the form of their 'zero' variants, the phoneme assumes a high front rounded form [ü]. In word-initial position and of low tone there is often a glide within the vowel area [u > ʊ] approaching [wʊ].

dbu·skra	ʷʊ·dʳa′	hair	u·dʳa′
dbus	ü ʔ	Lhasa province	uʧ
dung	ʧuŋ	conch	ʧuŋ
spun·kyag	püŋ′·gʸa′	brother	bun′·gʸa′

o—a mid to low back rounded vocoid, centering between [o] and [ɔ]. In closed syllables ending in dental contoids, though these may be in their 'zero' variants, the phoneme assumes a mid front rounded form [ö]. In word initial, low tone and in syllables with final k̚ in its 'zero' variant there is often a glide within the vowel area [o > ɔ] approaching [wɔ].

phyogs·la	čɔɔ′·la	in the direction of	čok̚′·la
bra·bo	ʧʳa·wo	buckwheat	ʧʳa·wo
hbrog·pa	dʳɔk·pa′	herdsman	dʳok̚·ba′
hog·thog	ʷɔk·ʧɔʔ′	ground floor	ok̚·ʧok̚′
chhu·tshod	ču′·ʧˢö′	hour	ču′·ʧˢoʧ′

a—a low central vocoid [a] occurring in open syllables. In closed syllables this form varies with an open mid central phone [ə] and likewise in word initial in high tone. When this phoneme precedes a dental in closed syllables, or (a rare variant) when preceding or following a palatal stop or nasal

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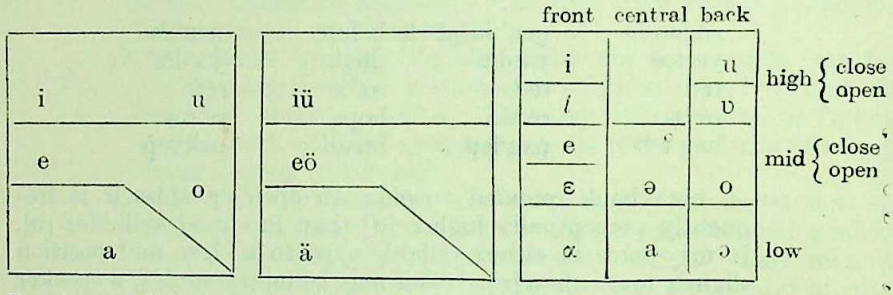
(k^y, g^y, n^y), or when preceding the alveolar enclitic *s*, the close-front, low (somewhat rounded) phone [ä] or [ɐ̈] is assumed. This latter phone is usually indistinguishable from some forms of the phoneme *e*. When spoken in contrast the two are separated by degree of rounding and unrounding, the *e* on such occasion being raised slightly to extend the contrast.

au·tse	ʔa′·u·d^z	middling	a′·u·d^{z}e′
am·chhi	ʔam′·či′	doctor	am′·či′
dad·pa	ʈä·pa′	faith	ʈaʈ·ba′
rdza·ma	d^{z}a·ma	pot	d^{z}a·ma
gnang·rogs·gnang	naŋ′·roɔ·na^n′	please	naŋ′.roḵ·naŋ′

Vowel Chart



Vowel zones of Tibetan

Vowel positions unperturbed by dental phonemes.

Vowel zones of Tibetan

Vowels as perturbed by dentals.

Vowel zones of English showing more restricted area, hence less variation within the phoneme.

(*c*) Suprasegmental Phonemes.

This dialect has two tonemes which may be described as high and low register tones. Every syllable in Tibetan may be assigned one or the other of these tonemes, or inherent tones with the following exceptions:—

Syllables beginning with initial contoids *h*, *r*, *R* and *λ* appear to be atonic.

Syllables beginning with *t*^{s} appear to be monotonemic: in the case of the writer's informant they are high tone.

When a syllable is vowel initial with high toneme there is an introductory non-phonemic glottal stop [ʔV′]. In syllables with low tone vowel initial the glottal closure is carefully avoided.

rta	ta′	horse	da′
ṇdah	ta	arrow	da
sa	sa′	earth	sa′
za	sa	planet	sa
hang·gu	aŋ·ḵu	pigeon	aŋ·ḵu
ang·gi	ʔaŋ′·ḵi	figure	aŋ′·ḵi
ŋga	ŋa	I, we	ŋa
ḷnga	ŋa′	five	ŋa′

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B. Distribution of Phonemes

1. *In the Morpheme.*

(*a*) The non-syllable morpheme.

The morpheme, smallest meaningful segment of a word, is identical with the syllable in this language except the genitive *i* and the agentive *t*. These two morphemes are in evidence chiefly through their effect upon vowels which is discussed in the paragraph 'Vowel Modification'. The enclitics, acoustically less than syllable length, are dealt with elsewhere since they are psychologically syllables.

(*b*) The problem of the morpheme.

The problem of the morpheme lies in its variable form. For example 'je' means 'lord' and as such is used in 'mi·je' 'lord' or 'chief' and 'je·dᶻun'' 'reverend'. However in 'dor·je' 'thunderbolt' is the morpheme to be considered 'rje' to follow the classical form of the morpheme, or is 'r' a variant ending of 'do' meaning 'stone'? In this case we have a word 'dor·tʳil' meaning 'thunderbolt' or 'bell' in which we have a precedent for an alternate morpheme 'dor' for 'stone'. We are free in this descriptive study from the implications of historical and comparative linguistics. Hence we state that 'do' and 'dor' are alternate forms of one morpheme and 'je' is the sole form of one morpheme. It appears in this dialect that the infrequent occurrence of perceptible prefixes to the morpheme (which always become syllable final to the preceding syllable) may be interpreted as either an attempt by the literate speaker to artificially stylize his manner of speech to demonstrate his spelling ability: or represent forms which have become so attached to the colloquial speech that the speakers unconsciously consider the prefix to be variants of the preceding syllable and morpheme.

(*c*) Dual form morphemes.

Some variant forms of the morpheme have no classical precedent, and their occurrence must be simply noted. For example: 'nʸo' 'buy' changes to 'nʸoḍ' in 'nʸoḍ.ča'' 'purchases'; 'sá' 'earth' becomes 'sáḍ' in 'sáḍ·tʳá' 'map'. The phonological modification of prenasalization introduces most of the observed 'prefixes' and this is a purely mechanical process and occurs independent of classical morpheme prefixation. Morphemes which show a preponderance of CV usages over CVC, and in the CV form exhibit no vowel lengthening or other feature suggesting variants of a final consonant may be considered dual-form morphemes.

It may be postulated therefore that the morpheme is the syllable (excepting genitive *i* and agentive *t*). Phoneme distribution will therefore be dealt with under the next heading.

2. *In the Syllable.*—The syllable is found in the following Consonant and Vowel patterns: V, VC, CV and CVC (CVV may be also considered, but the vowel is only lengthened due either to intonation or due to the presence of a 'zero' variant of some C final).

All of the vowels occur initial, medial or final in the syllable. There are no true diphthongs. When two vowels come together they either assimilate to form a single vowel, or retain sufficient 'time bulge' between

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them so that their syllable forms are maintained. Assimilation is with genitive *i* only.

bé·u (not [bɛw′]) monkey á·u·dᶻe′ (not [aw′·dᶻe′]) middling
li·u+i > [li·ü] of the chapter (written as li.ui)

All of the 27 consonantal phonemes occur initial in the syllable. The stops and affricates enjoy the widest usage, while the contoids *w*, *r* *R*, *λ* and *h* are heard least often. There are no consonant clusters in the syllable as such, although where two or more syllables are condensed into syllable plus enclitic, such may occur acoustically but not psychologically. (See 'Enclitics'.)

The syllable-final consonants are: p̓, t̓, k̓, m, n, ŋ, l and r: The aspirated stops are assigned to final position rather than the unaspirated on the basis that the aspirated form of a stop represents the more complex structure, and since it occurs as one variant of the final phoneme that symbol is assigned to this usage. In the scale of frequency of usage among the variant forms of the stops a descending order of unaspirated, aspirated, glottal closure, 'zero' and voiced is an approximation. The unaspirated phoneme symbol would serve just as well, the assignment of the aspirated symbols being arbitrary.

Tone is a suprasegmental phoneme of the syllable. In syllables with final *m* or ŋ and in those lengthened by the presence of 'zero' variants of final consonants the tone may exhibit a glide at the end of the syllable. This glide may be slightly up or down in anticipation of the higher or lower pitch of the succeeding syllable.

3. *In the Word and Phrase.*

(*a*) Segmental Phonemes. The phonemes as heard in the syllable may also be heard as such in the Word and Phrase. In rapid speech two like phonemes forming an ambisyllabic cluster reduce from two mora length to one. laṗ·ba > [la·ba]. The reduction of other ambisyllabic clusters of consonants on a basis of non-permitted clusters has not been established. There is a general pressure to reduce all ambisyllabic clusters of consonants (other than nasals) to the variants of each member which are closest to one another in mode or point of articulation. Since the syllable-final forms have the greater number of variants and the syllable-initial phonemes the least, the syllable pattern tends toward (though rarely attains) CV·CV·CV · · · · · CV.

(*b*) Prosodic Phonemes.

(1) Introduction: Anything spoken is of necessity said in some pitch or selection of pitches. If these do not represent pitch contrasts inherent in the syllable, but are superimposed on the phrase and varied at the speaker's pleasure, then they form *intonation patterns*. In non-tonal languages intonation carries connotations of emotional factors and/or semantic values unstated in explicit words. For example a highest level rise at the end of the sentence, 'This is a dog ?', implies a question in the writer's English. In 'I want to go home', a rise to highest level of intonation on 'want' implies, 'I really mean it, it's most urgent'. Intonation patterns which carry a minimum of added connotation and only suffice to form a framework of pitch on which to 'hang' the sentence may be called *carrier patterns*.

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In tonal languages (e.g. Cantonese) having several inherent pitch contrasts, intonation is expressed more in terms of stress, length and spread of the pitch intervals. Tibetan of the informant's dialect, having only two inherent tones is susceptible to both the intonation characteristics of tonal languages and in a limited form that of non-tonal languages.

Stress and length are non-phonemic intonational factors in this dialect. Length may be noted especially where the genitive *i* or agentive *t* endings may otherwise be obscure to the hearer. Likewise length is noted in anticipation-pause syllables. Stress may be noted on these and also on the one syllable phrase. The forms of intonation dealt with in this brief outline are the drab or carrier patterns of pitch variation because they have a bearing on the distribution of tonemes in the Word and Phrase. These carrier patterns suffice for most conversation.

(2) Intonation: Intonation is a superficial tonal modulation overlaid on phrase units or breath groups in the sentence. These units may be defined as groups of syllables in close or medium juncture to each other and in open juncture to adjacent syllables. Thus the syllables within a polysyllabic noun are in close juncture while in relation to a following modifying adjective the noun syllables are in medium juncture. A noun following these again would be in open juncture to the noun-adjective group. For example: ko′·dᶻe′ ča′·jiḵ′ joḵ·dᶻei′ deŋ′·ru šaḵ. Literally: chopsticks-pair table's top-on put. The first noun plus adjective form a syllable group of closer juncture than a group formed by these and the next word. Likewise two syllables within a given word form closer juncture than syllables of adjacent words. The natural pauses in a slowly spoken sentence indicate the points of more open juncture. Hence we may expect tonal modulation to be more closely knit in the more closely joined syllable groups. The native tone of a syllable in Tibetan can therefore to a degree be related as high or low register only within a limited number of adjacent syllables. A naturally high tone syllable may be perceptually lower than a naturally low tone syllable occurring outside the first named syllable's 'intonation phrase'.

It should be borne in mind that the features of syntax in the sentence and sub-units of the longer intonation phrases appear to affect the intonation by varying the number of intervals of pitch between like or unlike grammatical units. For example: a one-syllable noun plus a two-syllable adjective of lo.lo.lo tones is apt to pattern differently from a two-syllable noun plus a one-syllable adjective of same tone pattern: i.e. ◦˳◦ or ˳◦◦ or some other form. The writer has attempted to ascertain the commonest intonation contour and assumed the pitch spacing within the contour to be too variable to yield to analysis. The stronger emotional factors affect the interrelation of the natural tones to a greater degree, and the writer makes no attempt here to define these.

(3) The normal intonation phrases consist of:

(*a*) nouns and their following modifiers;
(*b*) verbals and their following modifiers;
(*c*) adverb expressions;

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(*d*) predicate adjective expressions linked with the verb 'to be' rather than with the preadjacent noun;

(*e*) a verb complex where an unmodified noun is tied with an adjacent verb root in a fixed idiomatic expression.

(4) The following phenomena are observed to be fairly consistent, and hence may be termed 'rules' of intonation.

(*a*) Intonation falls on *four levels* of perceptual pitch. A sentence need not however utilize all four levels.

(*b*) Intonation is consistent within each intonation phrase. A succeeding phrase may be shifted one intonation level.

(*c*) The first syllable in a word adheres to its inherent tone, high or low, in relation to the first syllables of other words within the phrase, like tones falling within one intonation level of each other.

(*d*) Syllables other than the first in a word, and especially postpositionals and terminatives (ba′, bo′, mo, la, naʔ, laʔ, gi, tˢo′, etc.) are more susceptible to intonation pressure, and hence do not conform so readily to their inherent tone.

(*e*) The atonic syllables with initial r, h, ʎ and R appear to yield to intonation pressures only.

(*f*) The initial intonation phrase and the sentence final intonation phrase have peculiar patterns of their own which must be described separately.

(*g*) Emphasis words such as ha·ǰaŋ′, še·tʳa, ʔaŋ·bo′, etc. do not follow the normal pitch patterns, but contain emotional factors which increases the rise or fall of intonation and often acoustically spread the levels of pitch. Relative levels of less emotional words are thereby disrupted as tone reference points.

(*h*) Syllables of high tone beginning with a vowel, nasal or semi-vowel usually assume the highest pitch level.

(*i*) The last syllable of an intonation phrase (other than the sentence final one) is usually pitched other than the lowest intonation level regardless of the possible natural low tone of the syllable. This is to be interpreted as an anticipatory rise. At times this is accomplished by a glide from lowest level to next higher taking place on a single syllable with an added intonational feature of length.

(5) Intonation patterns: *

(*a*) The one-syllable phrase.

high tone syllable . . . level with or above adjacent high tone syllables of adjacent phrases.

low tone syllable . . . usually a level above adjacent low tone syllables of adjacent phrases. It may be on a level

* These syllables are in sentence medial position, the introductory and final phrases having different intonation forms. Pitch intervals may be spread over four levels even though symbolism shows minimum spacing. The writer found correlation of phrase pitches with the natural tone of the following phrase initial tone the more natural order for study. The first syllable of a phrase is always word-initial and hence less affected by intonation.

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with adjacent high tones, or if emphasized even above them. On the other hand if adjacent phrases are on the higher intonation levels, the one-syllable phrase may be placed on the lowest level for emphasis. There is always a moderate emphasis on the one-syllable phrase.

(*b*) The two-syllable phrase:

hi-hi . . . the second syllable tends to drop an intonation level. Correlation with adjacent phrases leads to variable results depending largely on the form of these.

lo-lo . . . the second syllable tends to drop a level unless the first is on lowest level. Correlation with adjacent phrases is variable.

hi-lo . . . the relation of these natural tones to one another is usually the same in intonation.

lo-hi . . . same as above, following natural tones. Correlation of these last two with adjacent syllables is usually consistent with natural tone within one intonation level.

(*c*) The three-syllable phrase: (in relation to next phrase initial tone)

lo-lo-lo . . . | ˳˚˳ | hi or lo

hi-hi-hi . . . | ˚˳˚ | or | ˚˳˳ | hi or lo

lo-hi-hi . . . | ˳˚˳ | hi, | ˳˚ ˚ | lo, | ˳˚ ˳ | hi or lo

lo-hi-lo . . . | ˳˚˳ | hi or lo, | ˳˚ ˚ | hi

lo-lo-hi . . . | ˳˳˚ | or | ˳ ̊˚ | hi or lo, | ˳˚˳ | less common form usually a three-syllable word

hi-lo-hi . . . | ˚˳˚ | hi or lo

hi-lo-lo . . . | ̊˚˳ | hi or lo, | ̊˳˚ | hi or lo, | ˚˳˚ | lo

hi-hi-lo . . . | ̊˚˳ | hi, | ̊˳˚ | lo

(*d*) The four-syllable group:

The four-syllable phrase intonation functions like two two-syllable groups joined together often with the second pair stepped down a pitch level: e.g. hi-lo-hi-lo, hi-hi-hi-hi, lo-lo-lo-lo, when not unduly perturbed would tend to pattern

| ˚ ˳ / ˳ / ˳ | or | ˚ ˚ / ˳ ˳ |

(*e*) The five-syllable phrase usually breaks down to a two-syllable plus three-syllable group.

(6) Initial intonation.

(*a*) The one-syllable group. Low tone begins on the lowest level by preference. High tone begins on any but lowest level.

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(*b*) The two-syllable group. Like tones (lo-lo and hi-hi) step up one level on the second syllable, providing the initial syllable is placed on one of the two lower levels of intonation. If the first syllable is a word and the second is a postpositional then the intonation steps down. Unlike tones in this grouping follow their natural tones in pitch selection.

(*c*) Other syllable groups adhere generally to their sentence medial forms, the tendency is to build up from the lower levels of intonation to the higher ones. This is carried over to the post-initial group tending to be higher than the initial phrase of similar pattern.

(7) Final intonation: This is tied in with the verb or verb complex of the sentence, or it may be a predicate adjective form with the verb 'to be'. Natural tone is often disregarded.

(*a*) Final intonation drops in steps to lowest intonation level regardless of the basic tone of the final syllable. Should the final syllable be an imperative verb, it may be placed other than the lowest level.

(*b*) The first syllable of the verb phrase intonation group is often placed on the highest level of intonation to accommodate the downward steps of intonation when, for example, the phrase is six syllables long.

(*c*) In the longer phrases the downward steps of intonation take place on verb roots, their following postpositions remaining on the same level or at times rising one level.

(8) Perturbations of Natural Tone: A further type of tonal modification occurs which appears to be due to the collective effect of all phrases in a given sentence. In this the natural tone of the syllable appears to be perturbed in a manner which intonation within the phrase cannot account for.

(*a*) In a context, for example: lo-lo-lo | lo-hi-lo | lo-hi-hi | hi-lo-lo | . . . . . | The intonation would be expected to be | ˚˳ | ˚˳ | ˚˳ | ˳˚ | . . . . . | However the pressure of similarity of the first three is likely to force the fourth phrase into | ˚˳ | pattern also. This is more common in expressions of frequent usage where the natural tone can all but be dispensed with without loss of semantic value.

(*b*) In the second form of perturbation there occurs a tonal metathesis in contexts with less evident pressure than the type described above. It has been observed that a word like nʸop·ča' (purchases) and others of lo-hi pattern will freely change to definite hi-lo intonation. No explanation can be offered at present.

(9) Emotional intonation forms: Brief mention must be made of these without any attempt at analysis. Reference has already been made to the emphasis words such as ha·jan', ma·dok', etc. To these should be added various adjective intensifiers such as reduplication, various interjections, etc., all of which furnish a degree of emotional 'warmth' to the sentence. To that degree the drab intonation patterns are altered. Imperatives and perhaps supplicatives also come under this heading. Interrogative sentence forms, however, follow the drab patterns in

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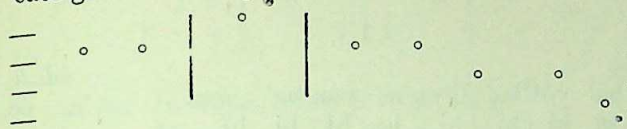
all instances brought to the investigator's notice. The most noticeable alteration in the more emotional forms is the abnormal spread of the intonation levels, with the frequent use of maximum number of intervals between the syllables.

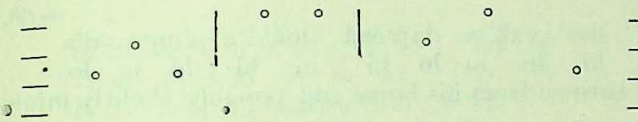
Examples: In the following the note marks indicate intonation pitch on four levels; vertical bars divide the natural phrasing. Two notes with bracket indicate alternate pitch; two notes joined with diagonal indicate glide on one syllable.

1. 

Rules illustrated 6*b*, 5*a*, 7*a*, *c*, 4*a*

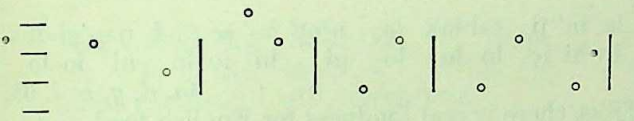
kʸot′ nʸi′ ʈʳot čet·gi yot·wa·re
hi hi lo lo lo lo lo atonic
You two are consulting.

ʈrot may be considered part of the verb complex and as such illustrates 7*b*

2. 

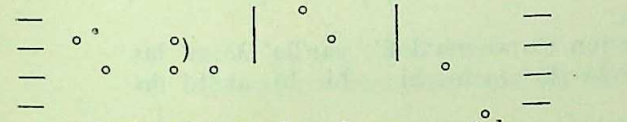
5*c*, 6*c*

yin·na·yaŋ dʳo.gʸu yak·bo′ duk
lo lo lo lo lo lo hi lo
As it is travel conditions are good.

3. 

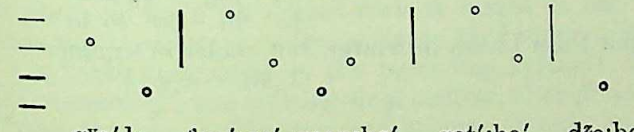
5*b*, *c*, 6*c*, 7*a*

kʸot′·raŋ čin′·ne lat·ga′ čet·kan′ la got′·ba′ šat′
hi at. hi lo lo hi lo hi lo hi hi hi
You go and give instruction to the workman.

4. 

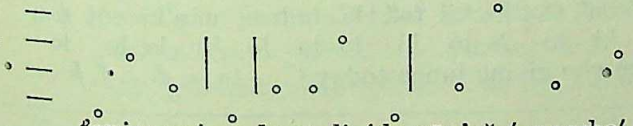
4*a*, *b*, *d*

ǰa′·lak di ʈˢo′ dram′·ne ma šok
hi lo lo hi hi lo lo lo
Don't leave things spread all around.

5. 

5*b*, *d*

gʸa′ la ʈaŋ′·ga′ maŋ·bo′ got′·ba′ dᶻe·bo′min duk
hi lo hi hi lo hi hi hi lo hi lo lo
The arrangement of all the pictures on the wall is unattractive.

6. 

4*a*, *e*, *f*, 5*c*, *d*

ʈe·riŋ·saŋ′ ŋe dor·ǰe·liŋ′ la nʸop·ča′ maŋ·bo′ nʸo·ba·re
lo at. hi lo lo lo hi lo lo hi lo hi lo lo at.
Nowadays I buy many things in Darjeeling.

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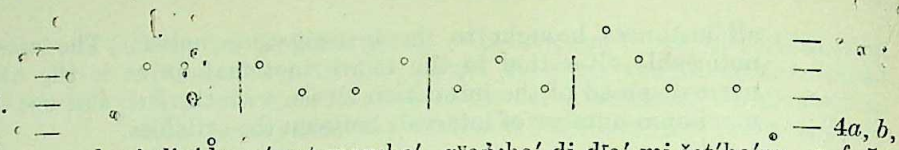
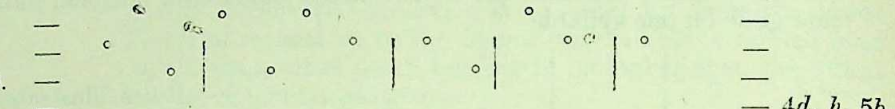
7. 

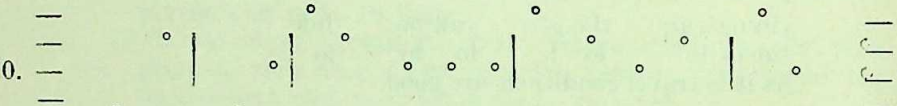
dor·je·liŋ' la sa' rut maŋ·bo' gʸaḍ·ba' di dʳa' mi šet'ba're — 4*a*, *b*, *e*, *f*, 5*c*, *d*, 7*b*
lo lo hi lo hi at. lo hi lo hi lo hi lo hi hi at.
These many landslips in Darjeeling are unfortunate.

8. 

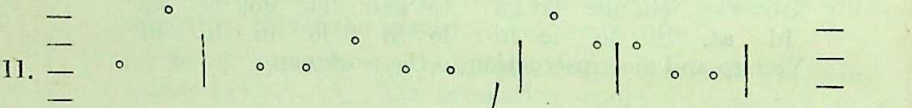
kʸot'gʸi' gaŋ'ba' yot'ba' gʸoŋ'ne yon'ba' gum' — 4*d*, *h*, 5*b*, 6*c*, 7*a*
hi hi hi hi hi hi hi lo hi hi hi
Stretch out your right leg, pull in your left.

9.

ka'· saŋ' čiḍ'· bat' yuk'ne daḍ·čak' dok'dᶻa' čuŋ·wa·dʳa — 6*b*, 8
hi hi hi hi hi lo lo hi hi hi lo lo lo
* Recently he was thrown from his horse and possibly slightly injured.

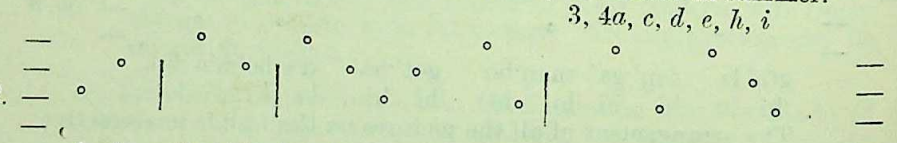
10. 

ṭeŋ·saŋ' ḍot·la in'·ǰi šal·lak la nʸet'·bo' še·tʳak naŋ'gi·duk
lo hi lo lo hi lo lo lo lo hi hi lo lo hi lo lo
4*a*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *i*, 6*b*,
Nowadays in Tibet there is real fondness for English food.

11. 

gun·ka' dʳat·ǰon ṭʳo·wa ma·dok' yar'ka' λa.sa' lat
lo hi lo lo lo lo lo hi hi hi at. hi lo

dʳat·ǰoŋ ṭʳaŋ·gi·re
lo lo lo lo lo
Sikkim is warmer than Lhasa in winter, but cooler in summer.
3, 4*a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *h*, *i*

12. 

ṭe·riŋ sol' ṭˢi'k' ču' ṭˢot'ka·kii ṭok'la bul·wa naŋ'ki yot ṭaŋ
lo at. hi hi hi hi lo lo hi lo lo lo hi lo lo lo
At what time are you giving lunch today? 4*a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *h*

---

* Acknowledgment is here made to 'Tibetan Language Records' and 'Tibetan Sentences' by Gould and Richardson, from which sentences Nos. 9 through 15 were taken. These books offered ready material for intonation studies.

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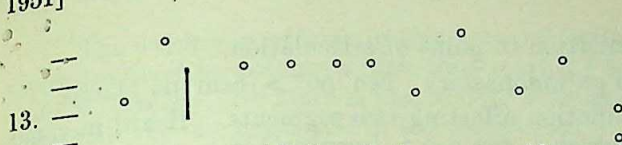
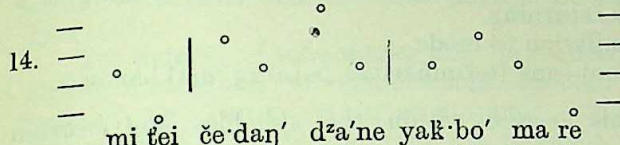


13. di·nʸi′ ka′·ka′ so′so′ re–nʸam′ʈu ma šaʞ
lo hi hi hi hi at. hi lo lo lo

Emphatic Forms
Emphasis on second syllable of adjectives and on imperative sentence

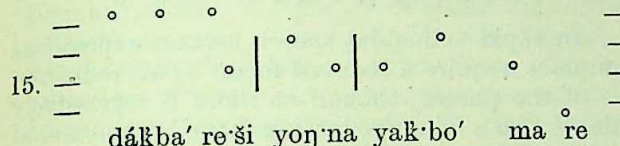
These two are entirely different—Don't put them together.



14. mi ʈei če·daŋ′ dᶻa′ne yaʞ·bo′ ma re
lo lo lo hi hi lo lo hi lo at.

Emphasis on dᶻa′ne

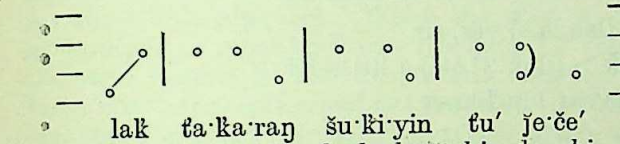
This man's conduct is not at all good.



15. dáʞba′ re·ši yoŋ·na yaʞ·bo′ ma re
hi hi at.lo lo lo lo hi lo at.

Emphasis on first three syllables

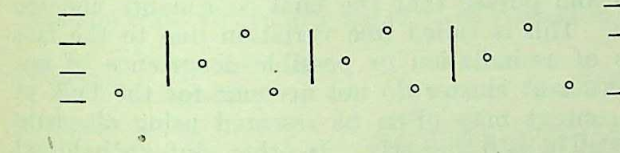
If you keep on coming it is not good.



16. laʞ ʈa·ka·raŋ šu·ki·yin ʈu′ ǰe·če′
lo lo lo at. lo lo lo hi lo hi

A representative expression in which by constant usage the natural tone is largely discarded and intonation pressures only account for pitch modulation. Two patterns are shown.

Yes, certainly I will, thank you.



C. Types of Phonological Modification

1. *Prenasalization.*—This is a process by which a stop or affricate is preceded by a phone of nasal articulation adopting the same point of articulation as the intended stop or affricate. It is most pronounced when the phoneme is in its voiced-variant initial in the word-medial syllable. It has not been heard before syllable final stops. It frequently functions as a syllable final nasal to the preceding syllable, at times replacing the 'zero' variant of some syllable-final contoid of such a syllable. In a number of cases this prenasalization has become 'fixed' in a certain word. The writer's informant accepts an alternate spelling of such a word with the nasal written as a phoneme to the first syllable.

me·da′ > [me·ⁿda′] gun šet·dʳat > [še·ⁿdʳä ?] rice
šal·da′·ma > [ša·ⁿda′·ma] maidservant
šet′·gʸi′·met > [še·ⁿgʸi·me ?] do not know

2. *Assimilation.*—By this process the members of an ambisyllabic cluster of consonants and/or vowels react on one another to form phones tending toward likeness in mode or point of articulation.

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(*a*) Regressive assimilation to point of articulation.
gon·pa′ > [göm·pa′] monastery čen′·po′ > [čem′·po′] large

(*b*) Regressive assimilation affecting two segments. Heard in rapid less precise speech. gon·pa′ > [gom·pa′] (ö > o)

(*c*) Complete regressive assimilation. This process of mora reduction of like or similar members of a consonant cluster has been alluded to as a possible unpermitted cluster. lok̚.kʸi·reʔ > [lɔ·kʸi·rɛ?] is returning.

(*d*) Regressive assimilation to mode.
nʸuk̚′ (bamboo)+ma (terminative) > [nʸuŋ′·ma] bamboo.

3. *Labialization.*—This occurs within the syllables and between syllables.

gʸal·wa > [gʸä·lʷa]

ṗ, d, g, k̚, tʲˢ+vowel o often > [ṗʷɔ, dʷɔ, gʷɔ, k̚ʷɔ, tʲˢʷɔ]

4. *Enclitic formation.*—In rapid colloquial speech certain expressions which have become commonplace acquire a reduced form. This reduction occurs on the final syllable of the phrase, though at times is regressively extended to the prefinal syllable also. These reductions have been observed only in syllables with initial phonemes *r*, *s*, *š*, *dz*, *tʲˢ*, and *č*, grammatically so on adjectives, particles and expletives. These reduced syllables tied on the end of full valued syllables are known as enclitics.

lak.lak.si′ > [laa.lä.s] yes, sir

dok̚′·tʲˢam′·šik̚ > [dok̚′·tʲˢA·š] a little bit

λa·sa′ru > [λa·sar′] in Lhasa

5. *Free Variation of Syllable Final Consonants.*—It has been noted under the individual description of each phoneme and under their distribution in the syllable, word and phrase that the final consonants undergo considerable free variation. This is called free variation due to the fact that the mechanical laws of assimilation or possible occurrence of unpermitted ambisyllabic consonant cluster do not account for the bulk of said variation. A given context may often be restated using alternate variants of these finals and still be said correctly. In other contexts habitual usage has fixed one of the variants to the exclusion of others. It is impossible to determine at this point in the investigation over how wide an area any fixed usage may extend. Any such fixed usage in a dialect area would cease to be considered a variant of a phoneme, but the term variant would be applied to the morpheme. The writer is convinced that such fixation is of common occurrence, and that many 'zero' variants of final consonants represent the contrasting segment in a secondary form of the morpheme. However until a much wider investigation has been conducted it appears practicable to write the syllable final consonants in all morphemes which have a perceptible phone in this position in a considerable number of contexts.

II. A PRACTICAL ROMANIZED ORTHOGRAPHY

In suggesting a practical orthography the writer has primarily in mind the Tibetan speaking reader and not the convenience of the foreign student. From experience gained in literacy work, two points stand out as axiomatic for a good orthography: (1) The symbols adopted must represent the phonemes of the language and not the phones as the linguist may hear them; (2) One symbol is to be assigned to each phoneme.

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The writing in of tone in this type of tonal structure is conventionally accomplished by placing a high tone mark [′] over the vowel or at the end of the syllable. No mark is placed over syllables of low tone. An alternate method (the one employed in the sample text) is to use the stress mark [′] after syllables of high tone and the period to indicate low tone syllables unless the low tone syllable is final in the word. Hence tone marks serve to separate syllables and space to separate words. The atonic syllables should be written with low tone mark since some syllable break must be indicated.

The number of tone marks may be reduced by not placing them over high tone noun and verb terminations (such as -bo and -ba) and the pluralizer t^so. One can go as far as dropping the t phoneme in terminatives with vowels *i* and *e* (not in agentives, however, except k^yit). For example dropping it in the verb form ret.

For the convenience of the typesetter and student the following suggestions are offered: (1) the use of gothic capitals simplifies the task for native speakers learning to read and write; (2) the symbols chosen are those found on standard English typewriters. The use of the comma as a diacritical mark for n^y — N,; etc. is another accommodation for the typewriter. In printing, this comma should be given less spacing than is the case on a typewriter in order to weld the written symbol into a more obvious unit.

It should be borne in mind that many languages use a Romanized alphabet and in no two do the symbols equal the same phonemic values for the whole alphabet. When therefore a symbol is introduced for a given usage, it must be learned as such for the specific language. Should the same symbol be used in another language covering the same area of usage it is the exception and not the rule. An effort is made in this suggested alphabet for Tibetan to select symbols which are used to denote the same general phonetic areas in English. There are necessarily exceptions, but the exceptions require no more effort on the part of the student to acquire than do those of familiar usage to be learned in their new contexts.

Phoneme	*Suggested Symbol*	*Remarks*
b	B	A common symbol for this phonetic area
p̣	P	Ditto
d	D	Ditto
t	T	Ditto
d^r	D,	Entirely novel usage
t^r	T,	Ditto
g^y	G,	Ditto
k^y	K,	Ditto
g	G	A symbol of common usage
k	K	Ditto
d^z	Z	A symbol used in some orthographies for this phonetic area
t^s	Ç	Ditto
ǰ	J	Ditto
č	C	Ditto
s	S	Ditto
š	X	Ditto
l	L	Ditto
λ	F	Entirely novel usage
r	R	A symbol of common usage
R	Q	Entirely novel usage

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Phoneme	*Suggested Symbol*	*Remarks*
m	M	A symbol of common usage
n	N	Ditto
nʸ	N,	Entirely novel usage
ŋ	V	A symbol not unknown in this usage
h	H	A symbol of common usage
y	Y	Ditto
w	W	Ditto
a	A	Ditto
e	E	Ditto
i	I	Ditto
o	O	Ditto
u	U	Ditto

III. TEXT

ťʳɔk·bo′ mi·nʸi′ yö·ba′·rɛ
friends men-two there-were
T,OK-BO MI-N,I′
YOT-BA-RE

k̓o′·nʸi′ ša′sa·nʸiⁿ dö·nä gor·mo yö·ba′·
Both meat to-eat wished, money there was
KO′N,I′ XA′ SA-N,IN DOT-NAT
GOR-MO YOT-BA

ma·rɛ ?
none.
MA-RE

mi ǰlk′·ki səm′·ba′ la ŋa·ťˢö′ pöm′·bö′ luk·ra·nä luk·ǰlk′ kü′·
In one man's opinion 'our master's fold-from one-sheep sto-
MI JIK′GI SAM′BA LA VA-ÇOI′ BON′BOI LUK-RA-NAT
LUK-JIK′ GUT′

nä ŋa·nʸi′ luk̓ sä′·nɛ sä·na yak·po′ yɔŋ·gi·rɛ la·ba′·rɛ ?
len we-two sheep killed if-eating good coming' said.
NAT VA-N,I′ LUK SAT′NAT SAT-NA YAK-BO YOV-GI-RE
LAP-BA-RE T,OK-BO KOT′

ťʳɔk·po′ k̓öö′
Friend by-him

luk̓ gü′·na böm′·bö′ sɭm·gi·ma·re·bä la·pa′·rɛ ?
sheep stealing-if by-master not catching ?' said.
LUK GUT′NA BON′BOT SIM.GI.MA.RE.BAT
LAP.BA.RE

yaŋ ťʳɔk·po′ k̓öö′ sɭm mɭ
Again friend by-him
'Catch-
YAV T,OK.BO KOT′
SIM MI

ťu′·ba′·čɛ·čɔ′ ? la·ba′·rɛ ?
ing don't allow' said
TUP′BA′CAT.COK′
LAP.BA.RE

o·na ťɛ raŋ čɛ·gi·yɭⁿ la·ba′·rɛ ?
'Then that very (thing) I'll do' replied.
O.NA TE RAV CET.GI.YIN LAP.BA.RE

ťɭ·nɛɛ ťʳɔk·po′ ǰig′·gi kʸab·la ǰlk′ k̓ʸɛr′·nä luk·ra la cɭm′·ba′·rɛ ?
Then one friend's topside-on one carried to fold went.
TE.NAT T,OK.BO JIK′GI G,AP.LA JIK′ K,ER′NAT LUK.RA LA
CIN′BA.RE

ťi·nɛɛ mi kʸab·la k̓ʸɛ′·ra k̓öö′ luk·jɭk̓′ sɭm·nɛ mi k̓ʸi′·ⁿk̓ɛⁿ′ k̓öö′
Then the one on top carried by-him one sheep grabbed, carrier by-him
TE.NAT MI G,AP.LA K,ER′WA KOT′ LUK.JIK′ SIM.NAT MI
K,ER′KAN′ KOT′

luk la lak·pa′ ma čaŋ′·ŋa·rɛ ?
sheep hands not touched.
LUK LA LAK.BA MA
CAV′WA.RE

ťɭ·nä ťˢɛm′·mo luk sä′·nä sä·ba·re
Then at-night sheep killed eaten-was.
TE.NAT ÇAN′MO LUK SAT′NAT
SAT.BA.RE

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saŋ'·nʸl^{n} pöm'·bö' luk·dᶻi luk la tʳaŋ·ga' gʸak·ʈü luk·ʄlk'. mɛ·pa'
Next-day master's shepherd-by at-sheep-counting-time one-sheep not
SAV'N,IN BON'BOI LUK.ZIT LUK LA T,AV.GA G,AK.TUT LUK.JIK'
ME.BA

še'·ba·rɛ ? ʈl.nɛɛ luk·dᶻi kö̈' luk tˢö'·la dʳo·ʈü mi·nʸi'·ki
he knew. So shepherd by-him sheep when look-for 2-men-by
XE'BA.RE TE.NAT LUK.ZI KOT' LUK ÇOL'LA D,O.TUT MI.N,I'GI

luk·ki pak'·pa' nʸi·ma la tʳəm'·ba' ʈoŋ'·ŋa·rɛ ? ʈɛ·nɛɛ luk·dᶻi
sheep's skin in-sunshine spreading he saw. Then shepherd
LUK.GI BAK'BA N,I.MA LA D,AM'BA TE.NAT LUK.ZI
TOV'WA.RE

kö̈' kʸək·po' pöm'.po' la šü·pa'·rɛ ? ʈl·nää böm'·bö̈' mi·nʸi'
by-him quickly owner told. Then by-master two-men
KOT' G,OK.BO BON'BO LA TE.NAT BON'BOT MI.N,I'
XUT.BA.RE

kɛ'taŋ'·wa·re ʈɛ·nɛɛ mi ʄlk'·ki ŋa lug·ra la kom·ba gʸap·ma·nʸoŋ
summoned. Then one-man-by, 'I to-fold a step never took',
GE' DAV'WA.RE TE.NAT MI JIK'GI VA LUK.RA LA KOM.BA
G,AP.MA.N,OV

lap·nɛ na' gʸɛ'·wa re ? yaŋ ʄl'·gi ŋa luk·la lak·pa ʄu·ma·nʸoŋ
said, oath swearing. Also by-other, 'I sheep-on hand never touched'
LAP.NAT NA' G,EL'WA.RE YAV JIK'GI VA LUK LA LAK.BA
JU.MA.N,OV

lab·nɛ na' gʸɛ'·wa·rɛ ? pöm'·bö' kʸö'·nʸi' la luk·pak' ka·nä ʈop'.
said oath swearing. By-master, 'You-2 sheep-skin where did-get ?'
LAP.NAT NA' BON.BOT K,OT'N,I' LA LUK.BAK' KA.NAT
G,EL'WA.RE TOP'

čuŋ·ŋä la·ba'·rɛ mi·nʸi'·gi ŋa·nʸi' la dʳa maŋ·bo' yö ? la·ba'·re
said. By 2-men 'we-two enemies many have', said.
CUV.VAT LAP. ME.N,I'GI VA.N,I' LA D,A MAV.BO YOT LAP.
BA.RE BA.RE

dʳä ŋa·ʈˢö' kaŋ'·ba' la yuk'·pa'·re ŋa·nʸi' kʸo'·bo' kʸo'·bo' yl^{n}
'By-them our house in (it) was thrown'. 'We-two poor-poor are'.
D,RAT VAÇ.OI KAV'BA LA VA.N,I' G,O'BO G,O'BO YIN
YUK'BA.RE

ša' sa ya luk·ʄlk' naŋ'·ro·naŋ' la·ba'·rɛ ? ʈl·nɛɛ ko'·nʸi' la
'Meat to-eat sheep please give' said (they). So to-the-two
XA' SA YA LUK.JIK' NAV'ROK.NAV' TE.NAT KO'N,I' LA
LAP.BA.RE

pöm'bö' luk·ʄlk' naŋ'·nɛ naŋ·la lək·pa·rɛ
by-master one-sheep gave, returned-home.
BON'BOT LUK.JIK' NAV'NAT NAV LA LOK.BA.RE

grogs po mi gnyis yot pa red kho gnyis sha bza nyin hdod nas sgor mo yot pa ma red mi gchig gi bsam pa la nga tshohi dpon poi lug ra nas lug gchig rkus nas nga gnyis lug bsad nas zas na yag po yong gi red lab pa red grogs po khos lug rkus na dpon pos gzim gi ma red pas lab pa red

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yang grogs po khos gzim mi thub pa byas chog lab pa red ho na de rang byed gi yin lab pa red de nas grogs po gchig gi rgyab la gchig hkhyer nas lug ra la phyin pa red de nas mi rgyab la hkhyer ba khos lug gchig gzim nas mi hkhyer mkhan khos lug la lag pa ma hchhang ba red de nas mtshan mo lug bsad nas zas pa red sang nyin dpon pohi lug zis lug la drang ka rgyag dus lug gchig med pa shes pa red de nas lug dzi khos lug tshol la ngro dus mi gnyis gyi lug gi lpag pa nyi ma la kram pa mthong ba red de nas lug dzi khos mgyog po dpon po la zhus pa red de nas dpon pos mi gnyis skat btang ba red de nas mi gchig gis nga lug ra la gom pa rgyab ma myong lab nas mnah skyel ba red yang gchig gis nga lug la lag pa hju ma myong lab nas mnah skyel ba red dpon pos khyod gnyis la lug lpag ga nas thob byung ngas lab pa red mi gnyis gi nga gnyis la dgra mang po yod lab pa red dgras nga tshohi khang pa la gyug pa red nga gnyis skyo po skyo po yin sha za ya lug gchig gnang rogs gnang lab pa red de nas kho gnyis la dpon pos lug gchig gnang nas nang la log pa red

Free Translation :

There were once two friends. The two of them longed for some meat to eat, but they had no money. One man expressed himself, 'If we killed and ate one sheep stolen from the sheepfold of our master, there would be no harm' (lit, good would come). His friend replied, 'But if we steal a sheep will not the master catch us?' 'Don't let him catch you', the other responded. 'All right, I'll do that very thing', he said. So one man carried the other on his back up to the sheepfold. The man being carried caught a sheep, while the one carrying did not touch it. That night they killed and ate it.

In the morning, when the shepherd counted over the sheep, he discovered one was missing. As he went to look for it, he spotted two men spreading a sheepskin out in the sun. The shepherd hastened to his master and reported it. The owner summoned the two. The first man under oath affirmed, 'I never took a step toward the sheepfold'. The other likewise swore that his hand never touched the sheep. 'Then where did you get the sheepskin', queried the master. They both replied, 'We have many enemies, and they threw it into our hut. Sir, we are very poor. Wouldn't you please give us a sheep so we can have meat to eat?' So the master gave the two a sheep and they returned home.

In the text note:

Free variation of phoneme *e* (this records as [*i*] frequently after *t* and before *n*).

Free variation of phones [ɛ] and [ä]. (There remains a question in the writer's mind to what extent his informant retains a differentiation of these two. It is only when there is stress that the investigator senses a difference. This again may be a mere mental extension of his knowledge of Tibetan spelling. His tendency is to write [ɛ].)

The intonation length on sentence connectives and on pauses before quotations.

(In the moderately rapid dictation of this story the writer found upon later checking he had recorded word-initial high tone in most cases and missed marking the same tone when it was not word-initial.)

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APPENDIX

Tibetan spelling forms equated with the Phonemes.

Any equating of spelling forms is in its nature general and not specific for a given word. It does cover the greater number of words brought to the investigator's attention.

Syllable initial phonemes:

b —high tone with initial sp, lp, sp, p
low tone with initial rb, sb, hb

p̊ —high tone with initial hph, ph
low tone b with no prefix

d —high tone: th, rt, lt, st, bt, brt, gt, blt, bst, t
low tone: gd, mg, hd, bd, brd, bsd, ld, rd, sd, zl

t̬ —high tone: mth, hth, th
low tone: d, dw

d^{r} —high tone: kr, dkr, skr, bkr, bskr, spr
low tone: dgr, bgr, mgr, sgr, hgr, hdr, hbr, sbr

t̬^{r} —high tone: khr, hkhr, mkhr, phr, hphr
low tone: gr, grw, dr, br

g^{y} —high tone: ky, sky, rky, dky, bky, bsky
low tone: rgy, brgy, dgy, sgy, bsgy, mgy, hgy

k̊^{y} —high tone: khy, hkhy, mkhy
low tone: gy

g —high tone: k, dk, bk, rk, sk, bsk, lk
low tone: dg, hg, sg, lg, mg, bsg, bg, r̊g

k̊ —high tone: mkh, hkh, kh
low tone: g

d^{z} —high tone: ts with and without prefixes
low tone: dz with all prefixes

t̬^{s} —high tone: tsh in all forms

ǰ —high tone: ch, lch, bch, gch, spy, dpy
low tone: hj, lj, mj, rj, brj, hby, sby

č —high tone: chh, hchh, mchh, phy, hphy
low tone: by, j

s —high tone: s in all forms
low tone: z in all forms

š —high tone: sh in all forms
low tone: zh in all forms

l —high tone: l with prefixes
low tone: l without prefixes

ƛ —all hl forms

r —all r forms

R̥ —all hr forms and some sr forms

m —high tone: m with prefix
low tone: m without prefix

n —high tone: n with prefix
low tone: n without prefix

n^{y} —high tone: ny with prefix, my with prefix
low tone: ny without prefix, my without prefix

ŋ —high tone: ng with prefix
low tone: ng without prefix

h —h in all forms (ʔ)

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y —high tone: y with prefix, and dby in some forms
low tone: y without prefix
w —high tone: db in some forms
low tone: all w forms
a, e, i, o, u—high tone: all 'a' forms
low tone: all 'h' forms (ꞌ)

Syllable final forms:

ṗ —all b and bs forms
ṫ —all d and s forms. The s appears to have the same relation to the d as the bs and gs have to b and g respectively.
k̇ —all g and gs forms except where the evidence in the usage of a morpheme in a series of different words goes against the use of a final consonant of any kind.
m —all m and ms forms
n —all n forms
ŋ —all ng and ngs forms
l —all l forms
r —all r forms.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

SHĀDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF SULTAN GHIYASUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH

By N. B. Roy

(Communicated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, F.A.S.B.)

Recently a stone slab bearing an Arabic inscription in tughra character was discovered in a ruined dargāh in village Shādipur, about six miles north-east of Gaur. The dargāh (the sanctuary of an unknown Muslim saint) is not a very old one, and according to statement of the local people the inscription was removed to its present site about seventy to eighty years ago. From the rubbing of the inscription kindly lent to me by Mr. Pramatha Nath Misra, Honorary Secretary, Maldah Museum, we have read the inscription as follows

بنى هذا الحصن الحصين بالحماية و التحصين السلطان ابن السلطان
غياث الدنيا و الدّين ابى المظفر السلطان محمود شاه ابن حسين شاه بن
السلطان سيد اشرف الحسينى الى الملتجى الفضل المشهور بالعبد البدر شاهى
خلد الله ملكه و سلطنة فى سنة ثلث (ثلاث) و اربعين و تسعماية *

This strong fortress was built with the support and patronage of Sultan, son of Sultan, who is the refuge of the world and the faith, the father of victory, Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Husain Shah, son of Sultan Sayyid Ashraf Husain. He is expectant of the grace (of Allah); famous as the slave of Badr Shah, (May God preserve his kingdom), 943 A.H., 1536/37 A.D.

Curiously enough, an inscription of almost identical purport and language, with two modifications only, was noticed by Beveridge in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1895.[1] In the beginning he read *bani Hizza ul bāb ul Hasin* and at the end he dropped the word *Shahi*, after *Abdul Badr*, so that he construed the first words to mean a strong gate and the concluding words as Abdul Badr. He found this slab lying in 'some heavy jungle near another tomb in the neighbourhood' of that of Dariya Khan. There is hardly any doubt that this very slab was removed to the dargāh at Shādipur when the jungle at Gaur was partially cleared, after the enactment of the Preservation of Indian Monuments Act in 1904.

After the defeat and death of the Bengal commander, Ibrahim Khan, at the hands of Sher Khan at the end of 1534, the Sultan of Bengal was in sore straits. He searched for allies in every direction; he sent envoys to Humayun; he liberated the Portuguese Captain Affonso de Mello from prison and granted them the privilege of trading and erecting a factory in return for military assistance.[2] Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud took the additional

[1] 1 Vide, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 214.

[2] *History of the Portuguese*, by J. J. A. Campos, pp. 35–38. We have no hesitation in rejecting summarily the conclusion (*History of Bengal*, Dacca Univ., II) that Sultan Mahmud Shah was a tactless and shortsighted king who caused the undoing of the Husain Shahi dynasty. The evidence of the Persian sources is to the contrary.

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precaution at this juncture of fortifying Gaur by erecting new defences, which is set forth in the above inscription.

As to the exact signification of the term *Abdul Badr Shahi*, we are in doubt. Beveridge took the words for the name of the Sultan himself, and this interpretation has become current[1]; but the actual words engraved are *Abdul Badr Shahi* and it would be a mistake to construe the words as the name of the Sultan.

Probably the words express the Sultan's allegiance to the saint Badr Shah and his discipleship of the order founded by him. Badruddin, Badr-i-Alam, alias Pir Badr, is the patron saint of the crews of eastern Bengal, who irrespective of their religious affiliations invoke his name at the start of river journeys. He is said to have long settled in Chittagong and practised his devotions there, laying down his mortal remains at Bihar in 844 A.H., 1440 A.D.[2]

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[1] *History of Bengal*, II, p. 159.
[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 302.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

THE WORSHIP OF DHARMA IN ASSAM

By MAHESWAR NEOG, M.A., *Gauhati University*

In an old biography of the Vaiṣṇava saints of Assam it is stated that Ananta Kandali, the great Bhakta poet, was originally a worshipper of Dharma. The deity was so much pleased with the devotee that he manifested himself as a bull and accepted all offerings. Kandali's wife was however a devout Viṣṇuite and adored the Vaiṣṇava guru Śaṁkaradeva. Kandali could not tolerate this and one day had his wife belaboured. From that time on, Dharma desisted from taking his offerings; nor did he appear before him as usual. The wife came to know of all this and said that Dharma had left for his own place, namely where Śaṁkaradeva, who was none else but Hari incarnate, lived at the place called Bardowā (Nowgong). Kandali went there all at once and saw Dharma sleeping near Śaṁkaradeva in the form of a tawny-coloured bull. He could not however remove the bull from there, and later decided to become a disciple of Śaṁkaradeva (*Kathā-gurucarit*, Vol. I, ed. by U. Lekhāru, 1949, pp. 41f.). This anecdote would evince that the worship of Dharma was prevalent in Assam even before the time of Śaṁkaradeva (1449–1568 A.D.). The idea of Dharma manifesting himself as a bull is not quite unknown.[1] Possibly the deity is here considered as a form of Śiva, whose symbol is the bull. The details of worship and the conception of the deity are not given in the *carit*.

According to the Dharmamaṅgala literature of Bengal Rāmāi Paṇḍit was the first great priest of Dharma and Dharma Ṭhākur manifested himself during the reign of Dharmapāla's son. The surmise of K. L. Barua is that this Dharmapāla is not the Pāla king of Gauḍa, but the Kāmarūpa king of the name of Brahmapāla's dynasty. 'The Dharma cult continued to be prevalent in Kāmarūpa even after the propagation of the Bhakti cult by Sri Sankar Deva. The sect was known as Rāti Khoā sect or the "night-worshippers" because their secret rites were latterly performed in the dead of night' (*Journ. As. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 92). It may be added here that Dharmapāla, the king of Kāmarūpa, is mentioned in the Mangaldai recensions of Sukavi Nārāyaṇadeva's *Padmāpurāṇa*. It is not however clear in what particular respects Barua considers the rites of the Night-worshippers as a legacy of the Dharma cult. But there is a striking similarity between the songs of the Night-worshippers and the aphorisms of Dharma-worshippers in their contents, dealing with the symbolic significance of the human body (cf. *Rūprāmer Dharmamaṅgal*, ed. by Dr. Sukumār Sen and P. Maṇḍal, 1351 B.S., intro., p. xvi).

Dr. Sen and Mandal (*op. cit.*, p. vii) find traces of the Dharma cult in the *Del* (*Deul*) and *Pāṭ* worship celebrated on the Caitra-saṁkrānti day in East and North Bengal. In the Maṅgaldai sub-division of the Darrang district of Assam *Deul* is held on the same occasion and may only be the vestiges of the Dharma cult once prevalent in that locality. No notice has so far been received of independent worship of Dharma in a shrine or otherwise in Assam. It is generally associated with and considered as a part of the worship of Mārai or Manasā, which is held with due eclat in

[1] Dharma is frequently referred to in ancient and mediæval Indian literature as a bull with four feet. Epigraphic and glyptic evidences to this effect are also found.

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some parts of the Goālpārā and Kāmrūp districts and mainly in the Mangaldai sub-division.

In the following verse of Durgābar Kāyastha, a senior contemporary of Śaṁkaradeva, the deity is doubtfully connected with Kūrma (Tortoise):

dharmara ye nāme prathame ḍuba dila|
doyā ḍubat kanyā kūrmaka cintila ||
tini ḍub dila kanyā buli mānasāi|

'(The wife of Candradhara) dived into water first time in the name of Dharma, a second time in contemplation of Kūrma (Tortoise) and the third time she uttered the name of Mānasāi (Manasā).'

Another contemporary Manasā poet, Mankar, says:

āṣāḍha nibaḍi yadi praveśa śrāvaṇa|
padmā pūjibāka udyoga kare nārīgaṇa ||
sāta pāñca nare kahe dharmara kāhinī|

'When Āṣāḍha passes into Śrāvaṇa, women make preparations for the worship of Padmā. People gather in small groups and relate the story of Dharma.'

In another place Mankar establishes a sort of close connection between Mahādeva and Dharma: *ardha aṅge mahādeva ardha aṅge dharma.*

A temporary *maṇḍapa* or pandal of worship is built when the occasion for worship of Manasā comes. The worship of Dharma, called *Dharma-pūjā* or *Dharamar pūjā*, generally falls on the day previous to the day of *bhar pūjā* (full worship) of Manasā. A place is selected a few feet away from the altar of Manasā and a *maṇḍala* or holy circle is marked out with powdered rice. Sometimes a mound is raised for the purpose. A whole earthen pot with mango shoots in it is placed in the holy circle over which a fresh plantain leaf is spread out. The neck of the pot is encircled with fresh white yarn. It is now called *Dharamar ghaṭ* and represents the deity. A man called Deodhā (god-possessed) kneels before that *ghaṭ* with his head swinging over the plantain leaf. After a little while, with display of great agility he jumps over the *ghaṭ* and begins to dance without making the pot to break. A chorus, called *ojā-pāli* consisting of an *ojā* (master) and *pālis* (assistants), sings a song or two invoking the god Dharma. Two household pigeons of perfect health and perfectly white in colour are at this stage handed over to the Deodhā, who releases them in the air in the name of Dharma. Now the Deodhā is supposed to be fully possessed by gods and the villagers put to him questions about the future. He is also allowed to sever the head of a pigeon and drink its live blood. Other deities are also worshipped in different *maṇḍalas* along with Manasā and Dharma; these are: Ganeśa, Śiva, Suvacanī, ten-armed Durgā, Śītalā, and others.

Invocations to Dharma.—(1) The following song has been taken from a manuscript copy of Sukavi Nārāyaṇadeva's *Padmāpurāṇa* from Mangaldai:

dharam pūjā lao re nāmiyā
devagaṇ śīghre nāmi lao pūjā
maṇḍapa bhitare dharam pūjā lao ||
dhaval āsan dhaval basan
śukla rathe nāmi āsil anādi dharam ||
prathama kalir śeṣe ek dharma upajilā
viṣṇu buli para nām thailā
viṣṇu nāme putra yār mahāpaṇḍit bhailā
saṁkha cakra teōr hāte dilā ||

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tṛtīya kalir śeṣe ek dharma upajilā
maheś buli tār nām thailā
maheś nāme putra yār mahāpaṇḍit bhailā
gaṅgā durgā teõr gharaṇī ||
āru kalir śeṣe ek dharma upajilā
michā kathā kaiba pāmara
kalir śeṣat rājā dhan-lubhī haiba
prajā dukh pāiba bistara ||
āru kalir śeṣe ek dharma upajilā
nicinay vṛddha bāp māo
kolār bhāryyā haị svāmīk nāmāniba
* * * * ||
āru kalir śeṣe ek dharma upajilā
guruk nāmānei śiche
brāhmaṇar vidhavāi māche bhāte jhapei khāi
kulāk nāmānei tuṣe ||
āru kalir śeṣe ek dharma upajilā
bhāi haị bahinīk kare bal
tār mahāpāpe gaiya śasya matsya lupta haịba
mānavī janam viphal ||
gāy gīt candrapati hare diyā bar|
dharmadevar pāwe bandi paśilo śaraṇ ||

'O Dharma, come down and accept the offerings. O gods, come sharp and take them. O Dharma, take the offerings made in the *maṇḍapa*. White is the seat, white the costumes; Dharma, who is without a cause, comes down in a white chariot.

'At the end of the first Kali age one Dharma was born. He was named Viṣṇu; became a great scholar, and was given a conch and a discus in his hands. [At the end of the second Kali age another Dharma was born as Brahmā.] At the end of the third Kali age Dharma manifested himself as Śiva and became a great scholar. He took Gaṅgā and Durgā to wife. At the end of another Kali age Dharma was born a knave and resorted to lies; kings became greedy of money and people suffered untold miseries. When another age of Kali came to its end, Dharma again incarnated and (a son) did not recognize his own old parents; nor would a wife honour her husband... Yet another Kali closed, and Dharma re-incarnated. A disciple would not now respect his preceptor. A Brāhmaṇa widow would take boiled rice with fish; and the husk of paddy would not fly at the blow of a winnowing fan. Another Kali age came to its close; brothers went upon their sisters. As a result of such great sins, grains and fish would disappear from the earth, and human life would be fruitless.

'Candrapati sings his song and god Hara would bestow (upon Candrapati) his bliss. I worship and take refuge at the feet of god Dharma.'

(2) The following song has been taken from two itinerant minstrels, who were formerly *pālis* of a *ojā-pāli* chorus of Manasā worship :

dharam pūjā lao nāginī saṅge laịyā|
aṣṭa nāge lao pūjā maṇḍape basiyā ||
śiva ātā śiva mātā śiva jaṭādhārī|
śiva śiva buli mai pāilo bicārī ||
śivar āsan śivar basan śivar simhāsane|
prathamate karibo pūjā dharma nārāyaṇe ||
ek juli laịyā phul āñjuli bhariyā|
buḍhā gohãir nāme puṣpa diyāra ḍhāliyā ||

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pūjā khāite śiva devatār raṅga bhailā mane |
dhane putre bāḍhok yen candra divākare ||
nāmi āhā nāmi āhā nāmi āhā rathey |
buḍhā gohãi nāmi āhā tuliyā laibo māthey ||
nāmi.....rathey |
tridah koṭi dev nāmi āhā tuliyā laibo māthey ||
nāmi.....rathey |
brahmā devatā nāmi āhā tuliyā laibo māthey ||
pūjā khāi brahmā devatār raṅga bhailā mane |
dhane.....divākare ||
nāmi .....rathey |
kãcāikhãtī nāmi āhā tuliyā laibo māthey ||
pūjā khāite kãcāikhãtīr raṅga bhailā mane |
dhane.....divākare ||
kãurūpar kāmākhyā devī nīlācale ghar |
dukhī sukhī kariba pūjā tomār caraṇ ||
dhūpe naivedya pātilā śārī śārī |
gīte jõkāri pūjā jor hasta kari ||
pūjā khāite padmāvatīr raṅga bhailā mane |
dhane.....divākare ||

'O Dharma, take our offerings in company of the Nāginīs. May also the eight Nāgas accept the offerings in the *maṇḍapa*. Śiva with matted hair is my father and mother and I have searched him out. We shall first of all worship Dharma Nārāyaṇa in the place, costume and throne of Śiva. Take a quantity of flowers that can be held with joint palms and pour it down (inside the holy circle) in the name of Buḍhā Gohãi (old god, i.e. Śiva). God Śiva is pleased to accept the offerings. May wealth and progeny thrive like the sun and the moon.

'Come down, come down, O come down in a chariot. O Buḍhā Gohãi, come down; and I shall take thee on my head.

'Come down....in a chariot. O thirty crores of gods, come down; and I shall take you on my head.

'Come down....in a chariot. O god Brahmā, come down; and I shall take thee on my head. God Brahmā is pleased to accept the offerings. May wealth....the moon.

'Come down....in a chariot. O Eater of Raw Flesh, come down; and I shall take thee on my head. The Eater of Raw Flesh is pleased to accept the offerings. May wealth....the moon.'

'Goddess Kāmākhyā of Kãurūp (Kāmarūpa) has her abode on the Nīlācala hill. O goddess, the wealthy and the poor alike will worship thy feet. Incense would be burnt and offerings placed in rows; (the votaries) would sing songs (of praise) with folded hands. Padmāvatī is pleased to accept the offerings. May wealth....the moon.'

To recapitulate:

In the *Kathā-gurucarit* anecdote Dharma is represented in a bull, which may also symbolize god Śiva. In practice the worship of Dharma is part of the worship of Manasā. He is worshipped in an earthen pot called *Dharamar ghaṭ*. No animal is immolated in offering to Dharma; things used in his worship are of an innocent nature: mango leaves, rice, *phāku* (pigment used in the Hoĭi festival), etc. Two white pigeons are let loose alive in honour of Dharma. This practice is echoed in Sukavi Nārāyaṇa-deva's *Padmāpurāṇa*: when Beulā got ready to start for Deva-loka with Lakhindār's dead body, she released too pigeons in the name of Dharma (*dharmar nāmat beulāi pārawa melilā*—Bhāṭhiyālī Khaṇḍa, ed. by H.

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Datta Baruā, 1948, p. 51). The Deodhā's drinking blood from the severed neck of a pigeon is independent of the code of the worship of Dharma. In Durgābar's verses there is a doubtful connection between Dharma and Kūrma (Tortoise), while in Mankar the deity is closely connected with Śiva.

In the first lyric, composed by one Candrapati, the seat, costumes and chariot of Dharma are all described to be white, which would recall the following lines of the Bengali poet Rūprām and the general conception about Dharma in Bengal.

dhaval aṅger jyoti dhaval āsane sthiti
dhaval baraṇe bāḍi ghar |
dhaval bhūṣaṇ śobhā anupam munilobhā
ālo kaile param sundar || (p. 3).

In the second lyric quoted above, Dharma is called Dharma Nārāyaṇa; and he is to be worshipped in the attributes of god Śiva. The idea of successive manifestations of Dharma in the first song is also remarkable and can be compared to similar ideas in the Dharmamaṅgala literature of Bengal.

There are thus many more points of divergence than there are of identification between the worship of Dharma in Assam and the West Bengal cult. Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī was the first writer to throw light on the practices of that cult (*Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1894, p. 135; *J.A.S.B.*, Pt. I, No. 1, pp. 55–61, 65–68). To quote this early authority on the subject: '*Dharma* worship remained confined to the lowest classes of the people, the dirtiest, meanest and most illiterate classes. All sorts of animal sacrifices are offered before *Dharma*, and the drinking of wine is one of the chief features of his worship... The ceremonies and fasts in honour of *Dharma* all take place on the full moon day of *Baiśākh*, the birthday of Buddha... The representation of *Dharma* in many places is a tortoise... *Dharma* worship prevails in the whole of Western Bengal, and in almost every village there is a temple of *Dharma*. There are also many places consecrated to *Dharma*, where annual and other festivals take place' (*Census of India, 1901*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Ch. VIII, p. 369; see also Report on the Census of Bengal, 1901).

Śāstrī wishes to connect the Dharma cult with Buddhism and goes so far as to say that 'a tortoise is a miniature representation of stupa with five nitches for five Dhyānī Buddhas. At Salda in Bankura an image of Buddha in meditative posture is still actually worshipped as Dharma' (*ibid.*). He also notes that although Brāhmaṇas hate the priests of Dharma, there are instances in which the worship has passed into Brāhmaṇa hands and the deity in such cases is considered as a manifestation of Viṣṇu or Śiva (*ibid.*).

Some other scholars have in recent times attempted to determine the origin and nature of the cult: Dr. Sukumar Sen (*Prācīn Bāṅgālā o Bāṅgālī*, 1350 B.S., *Rūprāmer Dharmamaṅgal*, 1351 B.S.), Āśutoṣa Bhaṭṭāchāryya (*Bāṅglā Maṅgal Kāvyer Itihās*, 1346 B.S.), Dr. S. B. Das Gupta (*Obscure Religious Cults*, 1946) and others. The main features of the cult can be summarized in the following lines:

The worship of Dharma is confined to West Bengal, i.e. Burdwan division. The deity is worshipped in the stone image of a tortoise, roughly triangular or rectangular in shape, with its head and four feet slightly protruding. The back of the tortoise is inscribed with marks to signify the sandals of Dharma Ṭhākur. The tortoise is the deity's seat and his symbol. The deity himself is conceived of as being all white—white in his limbs as also in his costume and his seat. His mount or vehicle is an owl.

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He is sometimes symbolized in the swan and sometimes likened to the sun. In places he has been called Nirañjana and Śūnya; but this does not point to Mahāyāna Buddhism but only implies the purity of the god in colour and essence. The god is also called Ḍemuryā, Kālurāy, etc. in different localities. He is prayed to in times of drought to send down rains. At the time of reciting the orisons, *gājans* (Skt. *garjana*) as they are called, goats are sacrificed in offering to god Varuṇa. In many areas the stone Ṭhākur is bathed in wine and offerings of molasses and rice-flour, wine, the flesh of ducks, goats or boars are made. This is mainly a cult of Ḍoms, Caḍāls, Hāḍis, Bāgdis and other low-class people.

Nothing could definitely be said about the origin of the name and the constituent elements of worship. 'It seems highly probable, however, that the word *Dharma* is a Sanskritization of some Austric formation like *döm*, *děrm* (Skeat and Blagden, T. 180); cf. also Skt. *duḍi*, Assamese *durā*. The Kolarian people belong to the Austro-Asiatic race and though the word may be obsolete amongst them now, it has been preserved among their Malayan compatriots. One local name of Dharma Ṭhākur in west Burdwan is *dem-ur-yā*. This formation seems to have some affinity with Austric *döm*, *děrm*. The element, *-ur*, is a Dravidian suffix indicating locality' (Dr. B. Kākati: 'The fish and the tortoise deities,' *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. I, p. 40). Dr. S. K. Chatterji also equates the word *Dharma* to such hypothetical formations as *daḍam*, *dararn*. Dr. Sukumar Sen suggests that it may not be unreasonable to suppose that the cult was originally imported by the Austrics (*Rūprāmer Dharmamaṅgal*, intro., p. vii).

It is curious to note how different deities are worshipped by different peoples under the name of Dharma. The Bhuiyās, an animistic tribe of Bonai, Bengal, worship Borām or the sun under the name Dharam Deotā as do the Oraons, the Bhumij and other tribes. The Mālēs adore the sun, Dharamer Gosāi, represented by a roughly-hewn post set up in front of each house, with offerings of fowls, goats, *sindūr* and oil at the commencement of the harvest season. The Oraons call the sun-god Dharmi or Dharmesh. The sun also comes in for worship among the Mundas and other tribes under the name Sing-Bonga (Sir Edward Gait: 'Religious ideas of some animistic tribes in Bengal': *Census of India, 1901*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Appendix to Ch. VIII, pp. 401 ff.).

In Hindu marriages in Assam there is a peculiar custom of placing an earthen pot, filled with water and decked with mango leaves and fresh yarn by the side of the *homa* fire. This is generally known as *mitra ghaṭ*; but in Upper Assam it is called *Dharamar ghaṭ* and the rule has been for the maternal uncle of the bride to hold it with both his hands while the priest utters a *mantra*. Songs are also sung in this connection. It is not known how the name of Dharma came to be associated with the marriage rite.

Nirañjana, the stainless and all-sentient form of Brahman as it existed before creation, features in the songs of *deh-bicār* (symbolic significance of the human body) of the sect of Night-worshippers. In their cosmology the universe is held on the back of the Supreme Being or Dharma in the form of Kūrma (Tortoise).

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

SOME PHONETICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA[1]

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[*Note*—The following editions of the Rāmāyaṇa have been used in the preparation of the present paper:—

(1) The Nirnay Sagar Press edition of the Bombay Recension (By.).
(2) The Gujrati Printing Press edition (GP.) published in 1919 with the commentaries Tilaka (Ti.), Rāmāyaṇa-śiromaṇi (RŚ.), and Bhūṣaṇa of Govindarāja (Go.).
(3) The Madras Law Journal Press edition (M.) published in 1933.
(4) The North-Western Recension (NW.) published by the D.A.V. College Research Department in 1922ff.
(5) The Bengal Recension (Bl.) published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series in 1932ff. (Gorresio's edition is indicated by Bl. Ka).

If not mentioned otherwise, references have been given after the Nirnay Sagar edition.]

The following phonetical characteristics of the Rāmāyaṇa will be studied in the present paper:—

A. Metrical Vowel-change.
B. Interchange of Sounds in Spelling.
C. Isolated Phonetic Phenomena.

A. Metrical Vowel-change

Quantitative change of vowels is very common in the Vedic where any short vowel in a word, especially the last, can be lengthened for metrical exigencies; the diphthongs *e* and *o* in the RV. are to be pronounced as *ĕ* and *ŏ* before *a*, and one vowel, excepting the vowels *ī*, *ū*, *ē* when used as Pragṛhyas, is shortened before another (*Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 437). In the Epics also, we find a pretty large number of cases of quantitative change of vowels for metrical exigencies. But in classical Sanskrit metrical shortening of long vowels is extremely rare, although lengthening of short vowels is not unknown. Thus, for instance, there are only three examples of metrical shortening (e.g. Kākalĭ, dūtĭ and Vaidehĭ-) in Kālidāsa.

A few cases of metrical lengthening of short vowels in the Rā., e.g., araṇī, aśanī, parīṇāha, parīvāra, pratīkāśa, pratīkāra, etc. are quite regular and sanctioned by Pāṇini, but others are irregular, and there are a few cases, e.g., *ivā* for *iva*, *Dadhīmukha* for *Dadhimukha*, *parīdadhyau* for *parida°*, *pravīvivikṣoḥ* for *pravivi°*, etc. which almost smack of Vedic archaism.

Almost all the cases of metrical shortening of long vowels in the Rā. are irregular and not sanctioned by Pāṇini, and some of them have closely similar forms in the Vedic literature. But whereas such cases are extremely rare in the Vedic, they are quite frequent in the Epics and it seems

[1] For the previous study, see *Un-Pāṇinian Sandhi in the Rāmāyaṇa*, *J.R.A.S.B. Letters*, Volume XVI, No. 1, 1950, pp. 13–39.

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probable that there must have once been some grammatical sanction for this phenomenon in the Epic period.

Examples of metrical change of the quantity of vowels in the Rā. are:

(a) Metrical Shortening of Long Vowels

akṣauhiṇĭ-śatam: VI. 41. 96 (for First Vipulā: NW., VI. 16. 97, Bl., VI. 16. 98[100], *akṣauhiṇī°* by changing word-order).

atiśăyanīm: II. 107. 18 (for Praharṣiṇī metre: NW., II. 120. 18, Bl., II. 115. 18, atiśiśirām).

Amarāvatĭ-saṃkāśām: VII. 33. 4 = NW., VII. 21. 4 = Bl., VII. 22. 4 (for Pathyā close).

parama-ṛṣĭnām: VII. 98. 22 (Pathyā close: NW., VII. 100. 24, ṛte maharṣibhir; Bl., VII. 105. 23, maharṣibhyaś ca te).

kăruṇam (for *kīruṇam*): V. 59. 22 (NW., V. 57. 6, *hy adhyāste śokakarṣitā*, Bl., V. 58[57]. 6, *adhyāste' tīva duḥkhitā* for *sādhvī karuṇam āsthitā*).

kăruṇa-vedī: IV. 17. 17 = NW., IV. 13. 7 = Bl., IV. 16. 15 (Bl. Ka, IV. 16. 12, kāruṇya°); NW., II. 54. 16 = Bl., II. 50. 16.

kăruṇa-vedinam: III. 64. 54 = NW., III. 70. 7 = Bl., III. 71[69]. 7; III. 64. 55 = NW., III. 70. 8 = Bl., III. 71[69]. 8.

kăruṇa-vedinā: IV. 34. 16 = NW., IV. 27. 17 = Bl., IV. 34. 24.

kăruṇa-vedini: NW., II. 72. 5 = Bl., II. 68. 5.

kăruṇa-veditvāt: I. 2. 14 = NW., I. 2. 16 = Bl., I. 2. 16.

All the cases of *kăruṇa-* are for Pyrrhic opening.

Kaikayĭ-rājyadānāt: NW., II. 66. 43 = Bl., II. 62. 42 (for Upendravajrā metre: By., II. 61. 26, *sutaś ca bhāryā ca tava prahṛṣṭau* for *sarve hatāḥ Kaikayĭ-rājya°*).

kṣamă-vatām: VI. 17. 27 (Pyrrhic opening).

gṛha-gṛdhnŭnām: VI. 75. 14 (Diiambic close).

jagatĭ-pateḥ: V. 30. 44 (for giving the scheme ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ in a Puṣpitāgrā pāda: NW., V. 24. 46, manuja-pateḥ.)

sarvajātĭyāḥ: II. 25. 20 (Diiambic close).

jñātĭnām: VI. 128[126]. 43 (Diiambic close: NW., VI. 107. 91, Bl., VI. 111. 45[110. 47], *jñātīnāṃ duḥkham udvahan*[*uddharan*] for *duḥkhaṃ tad jñātĭnāṃ nudan*).

dhanurjyā-tantrĭ-madhuram: VI. 52. 24 = NW., VI. 30. 24 = Bl., VI. 28. 25[26] (for First Vipulā).

nĭrogaḥ: NW. Ba, Pa, Bha, I. 1. 90 (Pathyā close: v. l. abhirāmaḥ; By., I. 1. 90, arogaḥ; Bl., I. 1. 97[94], viśokaḥ).

putrĭyām: I. 16. 9 = Bl., I. 15. 2 (v. l. ayajad vājimedhena, NW., I. 11. 8, *yājyate dvijamukhyena* for *ayajat putrĭyām iṣṭim*: Pathyā close).

aprastăve: III. 29. 19 (Diiambic close: Bl., III. 35. 22, ātmastave; NW., III. 34. 21, ātmastavam).

prabhăvam: I. 36. 27 = NW., I. 33. 29 (Pathyā close: Bl., I. 38. 31, *prabhāvam* by changing word-order).

bahumañjarĭ-dhāriṇaḥ: II. 48. 12 (Diiambic close: Bl., II. 45. 12, mañjarī-madhu°; NW., II. 49. 14, *lambamañjarī°* at the cost of metre).

śatrusañjāta-manyŭnām: VI. 75. 15 (Diiambic close).

mahardhĭnām: V. 8. 5 (for Vaṃśasthā metre).

pāṇḍu-mṛttikă-lepanāḥ: II. 91. 42 = NW., II. 194. 44 (Diiambic close: Bl., II. 100. 42, pāṇḍu-mṛtsnānulepanam).

baṅkă-paṅktiḥ: IV. 28. 23 = NW., IV. 21. 28 (for Indravajrā metre).

sabalākă-mālāḥ: IV. 28. 20 = NW., IV. 21. 35 (for Indravajrā metre).

yathoktăkāram: V. 32. 7 (for Indravajrā metre).

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lakṣmĭ-vardhanaḥ: I. 18. 28 = NW., I. 14. 25 = Bl., I. 19. 21; III. 15. 30 = Bl., III. 21. 30 (°nam; Bl. Gha, prīti-var°; Bl. Jha, nandi-var°; NW., III. 20. 28, bhrātṛvatsalaḥ); V. 31. 3 (NW., V. 25. 3, rājyalakṣmī-vardhanaḥ, Bl., V. 30. 3, *viśrutaḥ kīrtivar°* for *lakṣmīñāl lakṣmĭvar°*); VI. 102[101]. 24 = NW., VI. 81. 25 = Bl., VI. 83. 30 [82. 31]; NW., II. 81. 4 = Bl., II. 77. 4; NW., VI. 52. 91.

lakṣmĭ-vardhanam: III. 11. 77 = Bl., III. 17. 13 (v. l. nandivar°; NW., III. 15. 7, śubhadarśanam); III. 12. 22; IV. 27. 6; IV. 32. 12 = Bl., IV. 32. 12 (NW., IV. 25. 12, kīrtivar°); Go., VI. 92[91]. 9 = Bl., VI. 72[71]. 10 (Cha, śubhadarśanam); VII. 46. 13 = Bl., VII. 49. 14 = NW. La, Pra, VII. 48. 11 (v. l. śubhadarśanam); NW., II. 21. 51 = Bl., II. 18. 50.

All the cases of *lakṣmĭ-vardhana* are for Diiambic close.

lakṣmĭ-saṃpannaḥ: I. 18. 30 (Pathyā close: NW., I. 14. 26, lakṣaṇopetaḥ).

lakṣmĭ-saṃpannam: VI. 41. 10 (Pathyā close).

vanāpagă-śatam: VII. 19. 17 (for Pyrrhic opening: NW., VII. 18. 12, yathā pañcāpagājalam, Bl., VII. 19. 13, *salilaṃ saritāṃ yathā* for *vanāpagă-śataṃ yathā*).

Vasvokasără-pratimām: V. 3. 12 = NW. Ra, Ca, V. 2. 12 (v. l. viśvaikasā°; Bl., V. 9. 58[61], Vasvokasārā°).

vālukă-saṃtatām: III. 75. 17 (Diiambic close).

vālukă-setavaḥ: III. 69. 50 (Diiambic close: NW., III. 76. 42, *vālukā°*, Bl., III. 76[74], 31, *sikatā°* by changing word-order).

vistăraḥ: I. 36. 27 = NW., I. 33. 29 = Bl., I. 38. 31 (Pathyā close).

sapatnĭ-vṛddhau: II. 8. 26 = NW., II. 10. 22 (for giving the commonest type of the third Vipulā [⏑ – ⏑ – – , – – ⏑]: v. l. in NW., Bl., II. 7. 22, sapatna-vṛddhau).

samutsăhena: V. 47. 21 (for Vaṃśasthā metre: NW., V. 43. 21, samut-papāta).

muktā-sikată-śobhitām: V. 14. 33 (Diiambic close: NW., V. 9. 38, °saikata-saṃtatām; Bl., V. 17. 33 [16. 35], °miśrita-vālukām).

svadhă-bhojinām: VII. 23. 23 (Diiambic close: NW., VII. 26. 19, Bl., VII. 27. 20, *cāpi sudhāśinām* for *ca svadhăbhojinām*).

harĭṇām: IV. 44. 16 (for Vaṃśasthā metre).

Hăhā: II. 91. 16 = NW., II. 104. 16 = Bl., Ga, II. 100. 14 (Diiambic close: v. l. in Bl., *Hāhā* at the cost of metre).

Only one of the above examples, viz., *Vasvokasără°*, is not *metre causa*. strĭ-vyañjana-, ApŚS., VIII. 6. 1; garbhiṇĭ-prāyaścitta-, ApŚS., IX. 19. 14; nadĭ-dvipa-, ApŚS., XV. 16. 2, 3; etc. are close parallels to akṣauhiṇĭ-, Kaikayĭ-, lakṣmĭ-, sapatnĭ-, etc.

(*b*) *Metrical Lengthening of Short Vowels*

N.B.—A few regular, but nonetheless interesting, forms have been included in the list given below:—

vyatīyātau: RŚ., III. 69. 4 (v. l., NW., III. 76. 6, vyatiyātau; Bl., III. 76[74]. 6, bhrātarau tau).

adhīvāsaḥ: NW., VII. 30. 36 = Bl., VII. 32. 38 (Pathyā close: Bl., Ka, 39, *adhivāsaḥ* which makes the pāda a 5th Vipulā [⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑] which is extremely rare in the Rā.: By., VII. 24. 39, *Dūṣaṇo' sya balā-dhyakṣaḥ* for *rākṣasānām adhīvāsaḥ*).

sādhv iti: V. 58. 34 (Pathyā close); VII. 32. 65 (for the 1st type of the Pathyā [⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑] instead of the 7th [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑]: Bl., VII. 21. 65, sādhv iti; NW., VII. 20. 64, *sādhu sādhv ity abhāṣanta*

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for *sādhv ītivādinaḥ puṣpaiḥ*); VII. 98. 1 (Pathyā close: NW., VII. 100. 1, Bl., VII. 105. 1, *śokāc caiva pracukruśuḥ* for *cukruśuḥ sādhu sādhv iti*).

iva: NW., III. 34. 8 (Diiambic close: By., III. 29. 8, Bl., III. 35. 9, *ivārtavām* for *ivā ṛtau*).

anūcitaḥ: V. 36. 21 (Diiambic close: NW., V. 32. 25, Bl., V. 33. 34. ca nocitaḥ).

anūdake: I. 18. 50 (Diiambic close: NW., I. 16. 23, avarṣake; Bl., I. 21. 16, *kāle' bhivarṣaṇam* for *varṣam anūdake*).

nirūdakaḥ: VI. 5. 11 = NW. Pha, V. 74. 11 (v. l. sodakasyeva nirjalaḥ; Bl., V. 76[75]. 11, *sajalasyeva nirjalaḥ* for *sodakasya nirūdakaḥ*); NW., IV. 21. 18 (both the cases are for Diiambic close).

anūpamam: VI. 109. 24 [107. 51] (Diiambic close).

anūpamām: VI. 69. 49 (Diiambic close).

parikālayate: IV. 46. 11 = NW., IV. 37. 24 (for avoiding a succession of short vowels).

pratikālayate: IV. 46. 3 (NW., IV. 37. 16, paritāpayate).

tad-gatī-vaśam: VII. 31. 41 (for avoiding three consecutive short vowels: NW., VII. 19. 38, gāyanto madhuraṃ tatra nṛtyantaś ca mahābalāḥ; Bl., VII. 21. 39, *mahābalaṃ surapatiṃ mūrtimanta ivānilāḥ* for *tadgatīvaśam āpannā mūrtimanta ivācalāḥ*).

timirā-vatyām: NW., IV. 36. 118 (Pathyā close: Bl., IV. 44. 114[115], tu tamovatyām).

Dadhīmukham: NW., VI. 53. 59 (Diiambic close: By., VI. 70. 10, Bl., VI. 53. 10, *vegadarśinam eva ca* for *vegavantaṃ Dadhīmukham*).

Pañcāvaṭaḥ: Bl., III. 21. 3 (for the commonest type of the 3rd Vipulā [⏑–⏑–––⏑]: v. l, NW., III. 20. 2, Pañcavaṭī; By., III. 15. 2, *Pañcavaṭī* by changing word-order).

Pañcāvaṭam: Bl., III. 20. 38 = NW., III. 19. 61 [°vaṭīm] (for Vaṃśasthā metre: By., III. 14. 36, *jagāma tāṃ Pañcavaṭīṃ sa-Lakṣmaṇaḥ* for *jagāma Pañcāvaṭam ugrasevitam*).

parīdadhyau: Bl., II. 37. 12 (Pathyā close: NW., II. 40. 13, *paridadhe* which makes the pāda a 1st Vipulā).

parīṇāhaḥ: VI. 65. 41 = NW., VI. 44. 39 = Bl., VI. 44. 36 (Pathyā close); Bl., I. 13. 24 (Pathyā close).

parīṇāham: VI. 45. 24 = NW., VI. 21. 27 (Pathyā close: Bl., VI. 20. 27, paridhvastam; the commentator cites a v. l. *parīṇāham*); NW., III. 3. 4 = Bl., III. 4. 34 (Pathyā close).

parīmāṇaḥ: IV. 25. 8 (Pathyā close); parīmāṇā: NW., V. 96. 98 (Pathyā close).

parīvāraḥ: VI. 4. 33 = NW., V. 71. 36 = Bl., V. 74[73]. 42 (Pathyā close); VI. 37. 18 (v. l., NW., VI. 13. 16, Bl., VI. 13. 17[19], parivāra-).

parīvārau: NW., VI. 54. 53 (Pathyā close).

parīvārāḥ: IV. 19. 5 (Pathyā close: NW., IV. 15. 6, *anucarāḥ* which makes the pāda a 2nd Vipulā); V. 45. 2 = NW., 41. 2 = Bl., V. 41[40]. 2 (Pathyā close); NW., VI. 106. 53 = Bl., VI. 110. 65 [109. 68] (Pathyā close).

parīvāram: VI. 113[111]. 15 (Pathyā close).

parīvāraiḥ: IV. 39. 11 (Pathyā close).

sa-parīvāraḥ: Bl., III. 43[42]. 14 (Pathyā close).

sa-parīvārān: NW., V. 56. 99 = Bl., V. 57. 121 [56. 122] (Pathyā close).

abhiparivṛtaḥ: VII. 58. 22 (Diiambic close: NW., VII. 59. 21, Bl., VII. 60. 20, abhipariplutaḥ).

parivṛtau: VI. 31. 28 (Diiambic close: NW., VI. 7. 24, Bl., VI. 7. 29, pariplutau).

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parīvṛtām: IV. 25. 48 (Diiambic close: NW., IV. 18. 27, Bl., IV. 24. 40, pariplutām; Bl., Ṇa, parāyaṇām); VI. 115[113]. 4 (Diiambic close).

gupti-parīhāraiḥ: II. 100. 48 = Bl., II. 109. 25 (Pathyā close).

prakṛtī-janāḥ: I. 42. 1 = NW., Ja, La, Bha, I. 39. 1 (Diiambic close: V. J., Bl., I. 44. 1, *tataḥ prakṛtayo Rāma svargate Sagare nṛpe* for *kāladharmaṃ gate Rāma Sagare prakṛtījanāḥ*).

prakṛtī-janam: VII. 107. 11 = Bl., VII. 113. 11 (Diiambic close: NW., VII. 109. 11, *samutthāya janaṃ tataḥ* for *utthāpya prakṛtījjanam*).

pratīkāram: Bl., VII. 89. 8 (Pathyā close: By., VII. 74. 9, NW., VII. 77. 8, *kartavyatām* by changing word-order).

pratīkāreṇa: GP., IV. 28. 64 (Go., prati°) = NW., IV. 21. 46 (Bl., IV. 27. 20, pratikāreṇa).

Rāma-pratīkāre: V. 61. 6 = NW., V. 58. 12 (Pathyā close: Bl., V. 60[59]. 11, *Rāma-prītikāre* which makes the pāda a 4th Vipulā)

pratīkāśa-: II. 99. 21 = NW., II. 113. 20 = Bl., II. 108. 19; IV. 40. 51; IV. 42. 21; V. 6. 18 = NW., V. 4. 9 = Bl., V. 12. 8; V. 10. 28; V. 18. 14 = NW., V. 13. 15; V. 35. 53 = NW., V. 30. 2; VI. 26. 15; VI. 69. 37 = Bl., VI. 49. 22; VI. 96[95]. 33; VI. 130[128]. 75 = NW., VI. 109. 89 = Bl., VI. 113. 84[112. 87]; VII. 66. 4; VII. 70. 11 = NW., VII. 73. 11 = Bl., VII. 76. 13; etc., etc.

All the cases of *pratīkāśa* are for Pathyā close.

Although *pratīkāśa* is very frequently found in the Rā., its alternative form *pratĭkāśa* is extremely rare.

bhūmī-gṛhān: V. 12. 15 = NW., V. 7. 13.

pra-vī-vivikṣoḥ: VII. 36. 46 (for Upajāti metre: NW., VII. 39. 44, yathānila-kṣobhita-sāgarasya; Bl., VII. 40. 19, *lokāṃś ca pipīlāvayiṣur ivābdheḥ* for *pravīvivikṣor iva sāgarasya*).

saṃjāta-vālūkām: III. 73. 12 (Pathyā close: NW., III. 79. 6, Bl., III. 78[76]. 6, °śālūkām).

sādanam (for *sadanam*): III. 25. 24 (diiambic close).

sāhasra-: I. 27. 17 = NW., I. 15. 9 = Bl., I. 20. 9; II. 9. 56; II. 91. 43 = Bl., II. 100. 43; II. 91. 44 = NW., II. 104. 46 = Bl., II. 100. 44; II. 91. 45 = NW., II. 104. 47 = Bl., II. 100. 45; II. 99. 32 = NW., II. 113. 31 = Bl., II. 108. 32; IV. 39. 15 = Bl., IV. 39. 16; IV. 39. 18 = Bl., IV. 39. 26; IV. 40. 7 = Bl., IV. 40. 6 = NW., IV. 32. 3; V. 6. 8 = NW., V. 4. 24 = Bl., V. 12. 40; V. 42. 25 = NW., V. 39. 25 = Bl., V. 38. 23; V. 58. 116 = NW., V. 56. 96 = Bl., V. 57[56]. 118; VI. 94. 31[93. 30] = NW., VI. 72. 32 = Bl., VI. 74. 34; VII. 15. 30 = NW., VII. 14. 27 = Bl., VII. 15. 30; VII. 19. 12 (bis) = NW., VII. 18. 10 = Bl., VII. 19. 10; VII. 34. 30 = Bl., VII. 23. 31; VII. 35. 29 = NW., VII. 38. 33 = Bl., VII. 38. 80; VII. 68. 4 = NW., VII. 71. 4 = Bl., VII. 74. 4; NW., I. 3. 144 = Bl., I. 3. 147; NW., VI. 17. 12 (By., VI. 42. 17, Bl., VI. 17. 10, *tataḥ sahasrayūthāś ca* for *śatasāhasrayūthaiś ca*: for avoiding 3 consecutive short vowels); NW., VI. 38. 51 = Bl., VI. 37. 50[52]; NW., VI. 46. 31 = Bl., VI. 46. 31 (By., VI. 67. 33, *sa vānarasahasrais tu* for *taiḥ sa vānara-sāhasraiḥ*): NW., VII. 29. 1, 2 = Bl., VII. 30. 1, 2 = By., VII. Interpl. 4. 1, 3; Bl., I. 42. 11; Bl., III. 40. 29; etc., etc.

sāhasrī-: I. 13. 9 = NW., I. 9. 68 = Bl., I. 12. 8; IV. 66. 1 = NW., IV. 57. 1 = Bl., V. 2. 1.

If not mentioned otherwise, all the cases of *sāhasra*, *sāhasrī* are for Pathyā close.

Besides the above examples of Metrical Vowel-change, there are a few more cases which have taken inflectional endings and, as such, belong to the province of Morphology.

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B. Interchange of Sounds in Spelling

Interchange of sounds in spelling, especially between *a* and *ā*, *a* and *u*, *i* and *ī*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *ḍ* and *d*, *p* and *v*, *b* and *v*, *r* and *l* and the three sibilants, is frequently met with in the different recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa. It seems that originally such interchange of sounds was more or less regional in character, but it continued to prevail in the later language as well. Some cases of such interchange are evidently due to Prakritic influences.

Examples of more noteworthy cases of interchange of sounds in spelling in the Rāmāyaṇa are given below:

(*a*) *Interchange between* a *and* ā

Bhṛgv-Aṅgirasa-Kutsādyāḥ: Bl., VII. 63. 31[32] = M., VII. Interpl. 12. 32 (NW., VII. 62. 29, By., VII. Interpl. 2 after 59. 33, °Āṅgirasa°).

Bhāradvāja-: Bl., I. 2. 6 = NW., I. 2. 6 (v. l., By., I. 2. 5, Bharadvāja-); Bl., I. 2. 19 = NW., I. 2. 19 (v. l. in both, Bharad°); Bl., I. 2. 23 = NW., I. 2. 23 (v. l., By., I. 2. 21, Bharad°); NW., I. 3. 34 = Bl., Gha, I. 3. 34 (v. l., Bl., Ka, I. 4. 34, Bharad°); NW., I. 3. 37 (v. l., Bl , I. 3[4]. 37, Bharad°); NW., I. 4. 8 (bis) (Bl., I. 4[3]. 8, By., I. 3. 15, Bharad°); etc.

āṭṭālaka-: RŚ., II. 6. 11 (v. l. aṭṭālaka-).

āsra-: Go., II. 40. 35; Go., II. 44. 18; Go., II. 103. 6; Go., III. 61. 5; Go., IV. 23. 21; etc. (v. l. in all cases *asra* or rarely *aśru*).

Vibhāṇḍaka-: I. 9. 3, 12; I. 10. 10 (v. l. in all cases *Vibhaṇ*°).

nīla-māñjiṣṭhakāni: NW., IV. 61. 85 = Go., RŚ., V. 1. 79 (v. l. °mañjiṣṭha°).

(*b*) *Interchange between* a *and* i

M. generally reads *paṭṭasa* for *paṭṭiśa* of the other texts, e.g.,

paṭṭiśa-: V. 46. 35; VI. 31. 22, 27; VI. 37. 11; VI. 52. 29; etc. (v. l. in all cases in M., paṭṭasa-).

Kālakā: III. 14. 14 = NW., III. 19. 15 = Bl., III. 20. 14 (Go., III. 14. 14, NW. Bha, Kālikā).

dhūpakāḥ: II. 83. 14 (RŚ., dhūpikāḥ).

śakuni-: II. 34. 51 (Go., śakuna-); III. 2. 3 = NW., III. 5. 5 (RŚ., III. 2. 3, Bl., III. 7. 4, śakuna-); etc.

(*c*) *Interchange between* a *and* u

Interchange between *a* and *u* is very common in the word *pāṇḍara* which is often spelt as *paṇḍura*. M. almost invariably reads *pāṇḍara* and Bl. has both. Of the two spellings, *pāṇḍara* is the older. Examples:—

pāṇḍara-: M., I. 43. 24 = Bl., I. 45. 19 (v. l., By., I. 43. 22, NW., I. 40. 19, pāṇḍura-); M , II. 10. 12 (By., pāṇḍura-); M., II. 15. 11 (By., pāṇḍura-); M., II. 88. 6 = Bl., Jha, II. 96. 6 (v. l., By., II. 88. 6, NW., II. 100. 6, pāṇḍura-); M., III. 5. 8 = Bl., III. 9. 6 (By., III. 5. 8, NW., III. 66. pāṇḍura-); Go., M., III. 35. 19 (v. l., NW., III. 39. 16, pāṇḍura-); Bl., IV. 33. 16 = M., IV. 33. 13 (v.l., NW., IV. 26. 16, pāṇḍura-); etc.

muśula (*muśula*) is sometimes found for *musala* in the NW. Recension, e.g.,

musula-: NW., I. 51. 10 (By., I. 56. 11, musala-; Bl., I. 57. 8, muṣala-); NW., III. 27. 23 (v. l., By., III. 22. 21, musala-; Bl., III. 28. 35[37], muṣala-); NW., VI. 7. 19 (By., VI. 31. 23, musala-; Bl., VI. 7. 24, muṣala-); etc.

musula may be regarded as an example of Vowel Harmony.

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śiṃśapā is often spelt as *śiṃśupā* in Go., RŚ. and sometimes in one MS. of NW. (*śiṃśipā* also is sometimes found in NW.). Examples:—

śiṃśupā-: Go., II. 91. 51 (v. l., śiṃśa°); Go., RŚ., V. 14. 41 (v. l., śiṃśa°); Go., V. 31. 16 (v. l., Bl., V. 30. 12, śiṃśa°; NW., V. 25. 14, śiṃśa°; śiṃśi°); Go., V. 58. 56, 64 = NW., Pra, V. 56. 50, 54 (v. l., Bl., V. 57[56]. 70, 75. śiṃśa°; v. l. in NW., śiṃśi°, śiṃśa°).

śiṃśupā has perhaps been formed after the analogy of *śiṃśumāra*.

śiṃśapā is the older spelling and occurs in RV. and AV.

(*d*) *Interchange between* a *and* ṛ

NW. and Bl. read *jambhaka* for *jṛmbhaka* of the Southern texts, e.g.,

jambhaka-: NW., I. 26. 9 = Bl., I. 31. 9 (By., I. 28. 9, jṛmbhaka-); NW., I. 26. 10 = Bl., I. 31. 10; NW., I. 26. 14.

(*e*) *Interchange between* ĭ *and* ī

Bl. almost invariably reads *antarīkṣa*, whereas NW. and the Southern texts read *antarĭkṣa*. It may be pointed out here that *antarikṣa* is the older spelling, and quite in keeping with the Bl. reading, in Modern Bengali also the spelling *antarīkṣa* is much more prevalent than *antarikṣa* which is almost unknown there. Examples are:—

antarikṣa-: NW., III. 2. 11 (Bl., III. 4. 11, antarīkṣa-); III. 5. 11 = NW., III. 6. 8 (Bl., III. 9. 8, antarī°); III. 5. 14 = NW., III. 6. 10 (Bl., III. 9. 10, antarī°); III. 54. 10 = NW., III. 60. 11 (Bl., III. 61[60]. 17, antarī°); etc., etc.

aiṣika is sometimes spelt as *aiśika* in the Bl. Recension, e.g.,

aiśika-: Bl., I. 30. 7 (By., I. 27. 6, NW., I. 25. 7, aiṣika-); Bl., I. 57. 5 (By., I. 56. 6, NW., I. 51. 6, aiṣika-); etc.

But *aiṣika* in By., VI. 71. 90, NW., VI. 52. 99 and also Bl., VI. 51. 94 (no v. l.).

(*f*) *Interchange between* k *and* g

NW. and Bl. generally read *taḍāga*, whereas the Southern texts read *taṭāka*. In Modern Bengali too, the spelling is *taḍāga*. Examples are:

taṭāka-: III. 11. 17 (NW., III. 12. 16, Bl., III. 15. 17, taḍāga-); III. 11. 67 (NW., III. 14. 23, Bl., III. 16. 37, taḍāga-); IV. 38. 17 (Bl., IV. 38. 40, taḍāga-); NW., III. 27. 24 (v. l. in La, Ba, taḍāka-); etc.

(*g*) *Interchange between* ṭ *and* ḍ

Bl. almost invariably and NW. occasionally read *Tāḍakā*, whereas the Southern texts read *Tāṭakī*. The Bengali Rāmāyaṇa also reads *Tāḍakā*. Examples are:—

Tāṭakā-: NW., I. 3. 19 (v. l., Bl., I. 3[4]. 19, Tāḍakā); NW., I. 22. 25 = By., I. 24. 26 (Bl., I. 27. 25, Tāḍakā-); NW., I. 22. 26 (Bl., I. 27. 26, Tāḍa°); By., I. 25. 6 = NW., I. 23. 5 (v. l., Bl., I. 28. 5, Tāḍa°); By., I. 25. 10 = NW., I. 23. 9 (v. l., Bl., I. 28. 9, Tāḍa°); By., I. 25. 14 = NW., I. 23. 12 (v. l., Bl., I. 28. 12, Tāḍa°); etc.

Both *kuḍmala* and *kuṭmala* are found in all the recensions; e.g.,

kuḍmala-: IV. 13. 7 = NW., IV. 9. 7 (M., IV. 13. 7, kuṭmala-); IV. 38. 17 (M., IV. 38. 17, Bl., IV. 38. 40, kuṭmala-); etc.

Examples of *taḍāga* and *taṭāka* have already been given under interchange between *k* and *g*.

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(*h*) *Interchange between* ḍ *and* d

vaiḍūrya and *vaidūrya*.—NW. generally reads *vaiḍūrya*, while Bl. and some of the Southern commentaries, e.g., Ti., RŚ., read *vaidūrya*. Go., followed by M., oscillates between the two and reads both *vaiḍūrya* and *vaidūrya*. The evidence of the Mbh. shows that *vaiḍūrya* should be regarded as the correct reading. Examples are:

vaiḍūrya-: NW., III. 27. 14 (By., III. 22. 13, Bl., III. 28. 28[30], vaidūr°); M., III. 35. 18 (By., vaidūr°); M., III. 42. 18 = NW., III. 48. 3 (By., III. 42. 18, vaidūr°); GP., III. 55. 8 = NW., III. 61. 8 (By., III. 55. 8, Bl., III. 62. 6[61. 7], vaidūr°); Go., IV. 50. 27 = NW., IV. 41. 22 (By., IV. 50. 28, vaidūr°); Go., V. 2. 50 = NW., V. 1. 54 (By., V. 2. 50, M., V. 2. 53, vaidūr°); NW., V. 96. 18 (Bl., V. 96[94]. 2, By., VI. 22. 18, vaidūr°); NW., VI. 109. 57 (Bl., VI. 113. 52[112. 53], By., VI. 130[128]. 45, vaidūr°); NW., VII. 13. 23 (By., VII. 14. 24, Bl., VII. 14. 24, vaidūr°); NW., VII. 14. 33 (By., VII. 15. 36, Bl., VII. 15. 36, vaidūr°); etc., etc.

bhiṇḍipāla and *bhindipāla*.—The NW. Recension almost regularly reads *bhiṇḍipāla* and the Bl. *bhindipāla*, while the Southern texts show confusion between the two. It may be observed here that *bhindipāla*, and not *bhiṇḍipāla*, occurs in the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa also. Examples are:

bhiṇḍipāla-: NW., III. 27. 23; M., VI. 42. 46 = NW., VI. 17. 28 (By., VI. 42. 45, Bl., VI. 17. 29, bhindi°); M., VI. 51. 25 = NW., VI. 29. 23 (By., VI. 51. 24, Bl., VI. 27. 25, bhindi°); M., VI. 53. 8 (By., bhindi°); M., VI. 96. 26 = NW., VI. 74. 26 (By., VI. 96[95]. 26, Bl., VI. 76[75]. 26, bhindi°); M., VII. 21. 38 = NW., VII. 24. 28 (By., VII. 21. 37. Bl., VII. 25. 35, bhindi°); etc.

śāḍvala, which is sometimes found as v. l. for *śādvala* in the Mbh., does not seem to occur in the printed texts of the Rāmāyaṇa which have been used in the preparation of the present paper.

(*i*) *Interchange between* tya *and* tta

Interchange between *tya* and *tta* is found in the word *nṛtya* which is often written as *nṛtta*. Examples are:

nṛtyam: V. 20. 10 = NW., V. 15. 10 = Bl., V. 22. 10 (Go., V. 20. 10, nṛttam).

nṛtyena: V. 11. 5 = NW., V. 6. 6 (M., V. 11. 5, nṛttena).

nṛtya-vāditra-kuśalā: V. 10. 32 = Bl., V. 15[14]. 22 (M., V. 10. 32, NW., V. 5. 124, nṛtta°).

nṛtya-śālinī: V. 10. 36 (Go., nṛtta°).

pranṛtyā: VI. 74. 40 (v. l., NW., VI. 53. 93, pranṛttā); etc.

The later lexicographers, however, make a subtle distinction in meaning between *nṛtya* and *nṛtta*.

(*j*) *Interchange between* p *and* ph

Interchange between *p* and *ph* is found in the word *Śunaḥśepa* which is spelt as *Śunaḥśepha* in RŚ., Bl. and in one MS. of NW. Examples are:

Śunaḥśepa: I. 61. 20 = NW., I. 57. 21 (NW., Bha, RŚ., I. 61. 20, Bl., I. 63. 21, °śepha-); I. 61. 23 = NW., I. 57. 23 (NW. Bha, RŚ., I. 61. 23, Bl., I. 63. 23, °śepha-); I. 62. 1 = NW., I. 58. 1 (NW. Bha, RŚ., I. 62. 1, Bl., I. 64. 1, °śepha-); I. 62. 2 = NW., I. 58. 2 (NW. Bha, RŚ., I. 62. 2, Bl., I. 64. 2, °śepha-); etc.

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NW. La sometimes reads *Śunaḥśeha* which is a clear case of Prakritism. Cf. Prakrit *sehalia* < Skt. *śephālikā*.

(*k*) *Interchange between* p *and* v.

Both *kapāṭa* and *kavāṭa* are found in all the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa. Examples are:

kapāṭa: I. 5. 10 = NW., I. 5. 6 = Bl., I. 5. 10 (v. l. in all *kavāṭa*-); II. 71. 45 (v. l. in NW., II. 77. 30, Bl., II. 73. 30, *kavāṭa*-); Bl., V. 73[72]. 7 = By., VI. 3. 11 = NW., V. 70. 8 (v. l., Go., VI. 3. 11, kavāṭa-); NW., VI. 15. 26 = RŚ., VI. 39. 27 (v. l. kavāṭa-); etc.

Confusion between *tripiṣṭapa* and *triviṣṭapa* also is found in the Rāmāyaṇa; Bl. prefers the former spelling, while By. and NW. prefer the latter. Examples are:—

triviṣṭapa-: I. 57. 7 = NW., I. 53. 3 = Bl., Ca, Cha, I. 59. 3 (v. l. tripi°); VII. 26. 46 = NW., VII. 32. 39 (Bl., VII. 34. 35, tripi°); VII. 42. 29 = NW., VII. 44. 22 (Bl., VII. 45. 27[29], tripi°); etc.
triviṣṭapa is the older reading and occurs in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.

(*l*) *Interchange between* b *and* v

For *vadhyamāna*- and *vadhiṣya*- of the By. and NW. recensions, Bl. Ka almost invariably reads *badhyamāna*- and *badhiṣya*-. The Bengali script, having only one character for both *b* and *v*, is probably responsible for this confusion. *piva*° (from $\sqrt{pā}$, to drink) also is sometimes found for *piba*°.

(*m*) *Interchange between* r *and* l

Interchange between *r* and *l* is very frequent in the word *roma*- which is often spelt as *loma*-. Bl. and NW. on the whole prefer *l* and By., *r*; but it seems that the word *romakūpa* has no v. l. Examples of the confusion between *r* and *l* are:

Romapāda-: I. 9. 7 (NW., Bl., I. 8. 11, Loma°); I. 10. 2 (NW., I. 8. 32, Bl., I. 9. 2, Loma°); I. 11. 4 (NW., I. 9. 4, Bl., I. 10. 4, Loma°); I. 11. 15^{d} (NW., I. 9. 17^{d}, Bl., I. 10. 19^{b}, Loma°); I. 13. 25 (NW., I. 9. 82, Bl., I. 12. 22, Loma°).

Lomapāda-: NW., I. 8. 26 = Bl., I. 8. 27; NW., I. 9. 17^{a} = Bl., I. 10. 18^{c}; NW., I. 9. 18; NW., I. 9. 22; NW., I. 12. 25 = Bl., I. 17. 23; Bl., I. 10. 23; etc. (no v. l. in any of the above cases).

romabhiḥ: III. 69. 28 = Bl., III. 76[74]. 15 (NW., III. 76. 18, lomabhiḥ).

Lomaśasya: V. 6. 24 (Go., Roma°) = Bl., V. 12. 13 (Lomaharṣasya).

roma-harṣa-: IV. 64. 7 = NW., IV. 56. 6 (Bl., V. 1. 6, loma°); M., VI. 33. 29 (By., VI. 33. 27, NW., VI. 9. 27, Bl., VI. 9. 27, loma°); M., VII. Interpl. 5. 53 (v. l., NW., VII. 37. 49, Bl., VII. 31. 48[53], loma°); VII. 26. 30 (no v. l.); etc.

ūrdhva-romā: NW., VII. 37. 38 = Bl., VII. 31. 38 = By., VII. Interpl. 5. 41 (no v. l.).

(*n*) *Interchange between* l *and* ḍ

NW. regularly reads *Iḍa* and *Iḍā* for *Ila* and *Ilā* of the other recensions. Examples are:

Ila-: VII. 87. 3 = Bl., VII. 94. 3 (NW., VII. 89. 3, Iḍa-); VII. 87. 14 = Bl., VII. 94. 14 (NW., VII. 89. 14, Iḍa-); VII. 90. 7 = Bl., VII. 97. 7; VII. 90. 23 = Bl., VII. 97. 23 (NW., VII. 92. 23, Iḍa-).

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Ilā-: VII. 87. 29 = Bl., VII. 94. 29 (NW., VII. 89. 29, Iḍā); VII. 88. 7 = Bl., VII. 95. 7 (NW., VII. 90. 7, Iḍā); VII. 88. 9, 13 = Bl., VII. 95. 9, 13 (NW., VII. 90. 9, 13, Iḍā-); VII. 89. 5, 8, 23, 24 = Bl., VII. 96. 5, 8, 25, 26 (NW., VII. 91. 5, 8, 24, 25, Iḍā-); VII. 90. 2 (NW., VII. 92. 2, Iḍā); VII. 90. 20 = Bl., VII. 97. 20 (NW., VII. 92. 20, Iḍā-).

aila-: VII. 88. 1 (NW., VII. 90. 1, Iḍā-).

The *l* in the above cases seems to be a corruption for *ḷ*. Cf. *ile* (VS. Kāṇva) = *iḍe* (RV. *iḷe*).

vyālāḥ: NW., II. 28. 31 (Bl., II. 25. 31, vyāḍāḥ).

The roots *kṣveḍ* and *heḍ* also have *kṣvel* and *hel* as v. l.

(o) *Interchange between the three sibilants*

(i) Interchange between *s* and *ś*

In an interchange between *s* and *ś*, Bl. generally prefers the latter, while By. and NW., the former. Thus *Kosala*, *Kausalyā*, *Vasiṣṭha* of the other recensions are regularly spelt with the palatal *ś* in Bl. *sāla*, *sāyaka*, *Panasa* (proper name), *Kesari-*, *visrabdha*, etc. also are occasionally spelt with the palatal *ś* in Bl. In modern Bengali too, the prevailing spelling is with the palatal *ś*. Some of the above and other words, however, are sporadically spelt with the palatal *ś* in other recensions also.

A few examples of interchange between *s* and *ś* are given below:—

Kosala-: I. 5. 5 = NW., I. 5. 1 (Bl., I. 5. 5, Kośa°); II. 18. 38 = NW. Kai, La, Ma, II. 19. 40 (v. l., Kośa°); III. 65, 15 = NW., III. 71. 18 (Bl., III. 72[70]. 19, Kośa°); VI. 103[102]. 35 (NW., VI. 83. 30, Kośa°; Bl., VI. 87. 42[86. 43], Kauśa°); VII. 107. 7, 17 = NW., VI. 109. 7, 17 (Bl., VII. 113. 7, 20[18], Kośa°); etc.

Kausalyā: NW., I. 3. 16 (v. l., Bl., I. 3[4]. 16, Kauśa°); I. 14. 33 = NW., I. 10. 24 (v. l. in Ja, Bha, Bl., I. 13. 32, Kauśa°); I. 16. 26 = NW., I. 11. 26 (Bl., I. 15. 19, Kauśa°); I. 77. 10 = NW., I. 72. 8 (v. l. in Bha, Bl., I. 78. 8, Kauśa°); II. 31. 11, 19 = NW., II. 34. 9, 17 (Bl., II. 31. 9, 17, Kauśa°); II. 31. 22 (NW., II. 34. 16, Bl., II. 31. 16, Kauśa°); II. 41. 4 (NW., II. 44. 4, Bl., II. 40. 4, Kauśa°); etc.

Vasiṣṭha-: I. 11. 13 = NW., I. 9. 14 (Bl., I. 10. 14, Vaśi°); I. 12. 6 = NW., I. 9. 45 (v. l. in Pa, Bl., I. 11. 9, Vaśi°); I. 12. 11 = NW., I. 9. 49 (Bl., I. 11. 13, Vaśi°); I. 13. 1 = NW., I. 9. 61 (Bl., I. 12. 1, Vaśi°); NW., I. 4. 66 (Bl., I. 4. 67 [3. 68], Vaśi°); NW., I. 8. 4 (Bl., I. 8. 4, Vaśi°); etc.

kesara-: IV. 1. 64 (RŚ., keśara-); IV. 1. 72 = NW., III. 82. 38 (RŚ., IV. 1. 72, keśa°); IV. 37. 22 = NW., IV. 30. 23 (Bl., IV. 37. 24, keśa°); etc. *kesara* is the older spelling and occurs in VS., XIX. 91. Cf. also Latin *caesaries*.

kesari-: VI. 73. 59 = NW., VI. 53. 37 (Bl., VI. 52. 39, keśari-); NW., VI. 17. 22 (Bl., VI. 17. 22, keśari-); etc.

Kailāsa and Kailāśa.—Some NW. MSS. sporadically read *Kailāśa* for *Kailāsa*; e.g.,

Kailāsa-: I. 74. 18 = NW. La, I. 70. 19 (NW. Bha, °śa-; v. l. Mahendra-); III. 32. 14 = Bl., III. 37. 13 [36. 14] = NW., III. 36. 15 (v. l. in Bha, Ca, °śa-); V. 2. 23 = Bl., V. 9. 23 = NW., V. 1. 22 (v. l. in Ā, A, Pra, °śa-); etc.

Panaśa-: Bl., VI. 52. 39; but *Panasa-* at Bl., VI. 14. 12, etc.

sasya-: V. 40. 2 = NW., V. 37. 2 = Bl., V. 37. 2 (no v. l.); VII. 70. 10 = NW., VII. 73. 10 (Bl., VII. 76. 10, śasya-); etc.

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śasya is the older spelling and occurs for the first time in AV.

sāyaka-: VI. 102[101]. 6 (Bl., Cha, VI. 83. 6, śāya°; v. l., NW., VI. 81. 6, *pariṣīdanti me prāṇāḥ* for *śīyakāḥ pariṣīdanti*); VI. 103[102]. 63 = NW., VI. 84. 23 = Bl., VI. 88[87], 23 (no v. l.); VII. 18. 14 = NW., VII. 17. 13 (Bl., VII. 18. 15, śāya°); etc.

sāyaka is found in RV. also.

sārikā-: II. 53. 22 (Go., śāri°); III. 23. 15 = NW., III. 28. 15 (v. l., Go., III. 23. 15, śāri°); Bl., VI. 11. 40[42] (v. l. in Da, By., VI. 35. 32, NW., VI. 11. 36, śāri°); etc.

śāla-: IV. 5. 19 (RŚ., śāla-); IV. 8. 15 (RŚ., śāla-); IV. 8. 12 = Bl., IV. 8. 12 = NW., IV. 6. 10 (v. l. śāla-); Bl., IV. 7. 13 = NW. IV. 6. 11 (v. l. śāla-); NW., IV. 6. 12 (v. l., By., IV. 8. 14, śāla-); IV. 16. 23 = NW., IV. 12. 21 (Bha, Bl., IV. 15. 23, śāla-); IV. 31. 14 = NW., IV. 24. 9 = Bl. Ka, IV. 31. 13 (v. l. śāla-); IV. 40. 56 = NW., IV. 32. 47 = Bl., IV. 40. 56 (no v. l.); V. 1. 46 = NW., IV. 61. 51 (RŚ., V. 1. 46, śāla-); etc.

Both *śāla* and *śāla* seem to be almost equally old.

śūkaraḥ: VI. 35. 30 = NW., VI. 11. 34 (Bl., VI. 11. 38. 40, śūkaraḥ); etc.

śūkara is the older spelling and occurs in RV.

visrabdha-: III. 36. 21 = Bl., III. 41[40]. 32 = NW., III. 39. 63 (Bha, Ca, viśra°); NW., VII. 27. 16 (Bl., VII. 28. 16, viśra°); VII. 42. 35 = NW., VII. 44. 28 (v. l., Bl., VII. 45. 33[35], viśra°); VII. 49. 10 = NW., VII. 51. 10 (Bl., VII. 51. 10, viśra°); etc.

Śālakaṭaṅkaṭā: VII. 4. 23 = Bl., VII. 4. 23 (v. l. in Cha, NW., VII. 3. 23 Śālaka°).

Śūrpaṇakhī: Two NW. MSS. sporadically read Śūrpaṇakhī for Śūrpa°. Examples are:

Śūrpaṇakhī: NW. Bha, Ca, III. 23. 1; NW. Ca, III. 23. 8; NW. Bha, Ca, III. 23. 22; NW. Bha, Ca, colophon at the end of III. 23; NW. Bha, Ca, III. 25. 1, 28; NW. Bha, Ca, III. 26. 1 (v. l. in all cases Śūrpa°).

M. reads *paṭṭasa* for *paṭṭiśa*; a few examples have already been given under Interchange between *a* and *i*.

(ii) Interchange between *ś* and *ṣ*

Interchange between *ś* and *ṣ* is found only in a few limited words, e.g., veṣa, koṣa, aiṣīka, Ṛṣya-, etc. Examples are:

Ṛṣyamūka-: IV. 5. 1 = NW., IV. 4. 1 = Bl., IV. 4. 1 (Go., IV. 5. 1, Ṛśya°); IV. 8. 17 = NW., IV. 6. 14 = Bl., IV. 7. 16 (no v. l.); IV. 13. 1 = NW., IV. 9. 1 = Bl., IV. 13. 1 (Go., IV. 13. 1, Ṛśya°); IV. 24. 7 (Go., Ṛśya°); etc.

Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and *Ṛśyaśṛṅga*.—Go. sometimes reads *Ṛśyaśṛṅga* for *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, just as he reads *Ṛśyamūka* for *Ṛṣyamūka*. Examples are:—

Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-: I. 9. 13 = NW., I. 8. 16 = Bl., I. 8. 16 (Go., I. 9. 13, Ṛśya°); I. 9. 19, 20 (Go., Ṛśya°); I. 10. 1 = NW., I. 8. 31 = Bl., I. 9. 31 (Go., I. 10. 1, Ṛśya°); I. 10. 3 = NW., I. 8. 33 = Bl., I. 9. 3 (Go., I. 10. 3, Ṛśya°); I. 10. 14 = NW., I. 8. 49 = Bl., I. 9. 25 (Go., I. 10. 14, Ṛśya°); I. 10. 33 = NW., I. 8. 75 = Bl., I. 9. 65[69] (Go., I. 10. 33, Ṛśya°); I. 12. 11 = NW., I. 9. 50 = Bl., I. 11. 14 (Go., I. 12. 11, Ṛśya°); I. 13. 39 = NW., I. 9. 54 = Bl., I. 12. 34 (Go., I. 13. 39, Ṛśya°); I. 13. 40 (Go., Ṛśya°).

aiṣīka and *aiśika*.—Bl. sometimes reads *aiśika* for *aiṣīka*. A few examples have already been given under Interchange between *i* and *ī*.

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koṣa-: I. 7. 11 = NW., I. 7. 7 (Bl., I. 7. 7, koṣa-); IV. 1. 71 = NW., III. 82. 37 (Bl., III. 81. 29, koṣa-; Bl. Ka, III. 79. 28, has a quite different reading); VI. 129[127]. 56[a] = NW., VI. 108. 53[a] (v. l. koṣa-; Bl., VI. 112. 47[a] [111. 52[a]], bhogam); NW., VI. 108. 53[b] (Bl., VI. 112. 47[b] [111. 52[b]], koṣa-; By., VI. 129[127]. 56[b], *koṣṭhāgāram* for *kośāgāram*).

veśa: NW., I. 44. 17, 19 = Bl., I. 49. 17, 19 (By., I. 48. 17, 19, veṣa-); NW., II. 28. 29 = Bl., II. 25. 30 (By., II. 25. 16, veṣa-); etc.

veśa is the older spelling. Cf. Greek *'oikos*.

(iii) Interchange between *s* and *ṣ*

Interchange between *s* and *ṣ*, when the latter is not obtained by the rules of cerebralization, is frequently found in the word *musala* which is usually spelt as *muṣala* in Bl.; e.g.,

muṣala-: Bl., VI. 27. 25; Bl., VI. 32. 3 (NW., VI. 34. 3, By., VI. 58. 7, musa°); Bl., VI. 32. 31, 37, 39 (NW., VI. 34. 36, 42, 44, By., VI. 58. 45, 51, 52, musa°); Bl., VI. 93[92]. 17 (NW., VI. 89. 19, By., VI. 109. 17 [107. 45], musa°); Bl., VII. 27. 42 (By., VII. 23. 44, NW., VII. 26. 40, musa°); Bl., VII. 21. 69 (By., VII. 32. 69, NW., VII. 20. 68, musa°); etc.

(*p*) *Interchange between* ṣ *and* kh

Interchange between *ṣ* and *kh* is found in three words, viz., *khāṇḍava* (sugar-candy), *Tuṣāra* (the Tokharians), and *ṣaṇḍa* (heap). Examples are:

khāṇḍava-: I. 53. 4 (Go., ṣāṇḍa°; NW., I. 48. 28, ṣāḍava-; Bl., I. 54. 4. ṣadrasa-); V. 11. 18 = NW., V. 6. 20 (v. l. in Pha, ṣāṇḍa°; Go., V. 11. 18, Bl., V. 15. 43 [14: 45], ṣāḍava-).

Cf. modern Bengali *khāḍa* < khāṇḍava.

Tukhārāḥ: Bl. Cha, I. 56. 3 (v. l., NW., I. 50. 3, Tuṣā°; By., I. 55. 3, Hārītāḥ).

The Mbh., too, has both the spellings and Rājataraṅgiṇī (IV. 211) reads *Tukhkhāra*.

ṣaṇḍa-: Go., III. 8. 14 = NW., III. 9. 14 = Bl., III. 12. 14 (By., III. 8. 14, khaṇḍa-); Go., III. 11. 40 = Bl., III. 15. 43 (By., III. 11. 40. NW., III. 13. 18, khaṇḍa-); Go., III. 44. 12 (By., khaṇḍa-); III. 63. 15 (RṢ., khaṇḍa-); IV. 27. 9 (RṢ., khaṇḍa-); Go., V. 17. 1 (v. l., NW., V. 12. 1, khaṇḍa-); Go., V. 58. 111 = Bl., V. 57[56]. 113 (v. l. in Gha, Tha, By., V. 58. 111, NW., V. 56. 91, khaṇḍa); etc.

This confusion between *ṣ* and *kh* seems to be due to the dialectal pronunciation of *ṣ* as *kh*. Cf. Brajabhākhā = Vrajabhāṣā; supurukha (in Brajabuli) = supuruṣa.

(*q*) *Miscellaneous*

Kekayī, Kaikayī and Kaikeyī.—*Kekayī* has two more variants, viz., *Kaikayī* and *Kaikeyī*. Of them, *Kekayī*, though preferable to the other two readings, occurs least in all the recensions. There are, however, a few cases (e.g., II. 18. 19, 31; II. 19. 24; II. 37. 6, 21, 33; II. 53. 15; II. 72. 14; etc.) in which the reading *Kaikeyī* is to be preferred to the other two readings for metrical exigencies.

Madhucchandas: I. 62. 13 = NW., I. 58. 13 (Go., I. 62. 13, Bl., I. 64. 13, Madhuṣyaṇḍa-; RṢ., I. 62. 13, Madhuṣyaṇḍa-).

Prasusruva: II. 110. 32 = Bl., II. 119. 29 (RṢ., II. 110. 32, Prasusrava; Go., II. 110. 32, Prasusruka; NW., II. 123. 28, Prasustaka).

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priyāla-: III. 73. 3 (NW., III. 79. 3. Bl., III. 78[76]. 3, piyāla-); V. 2. 9 = NW. La$_2$, V. 1. 9 = Bl. Da, V. 9. 7 (v. l. in NW. & Bl., piyāla-); etc.

Nṛsaṅguḥ: VII. 1. 4 (Go., RŚ., Nṛsadguḥ; Bl., VII. 1. 4, Utaṅkaḥ; Bl., Ka, VII. 1. 4, Uṣadguḥ).

śiṃśumāra and *śiśumāra*.—Confusion between *śiṃśumāra* and *śiśumāra* is found in the different recensions of the Rā.; NW. and Bl. seem to prefer *śiśumara*. Examples are:—

śiṃśumāra-: I. 43. 16 (no v. l.); Go., VII. 6. 48 (v. l., NW., VII. 5. 42, Bl. VII. 6. 44, śiśu°); Go., VII. 25. 36 (v. l. śiśu°); etc.

śiśumāra seems to be a case of Folk Etymology.

Cerebralization

Rules of cerebralization are not rigidly followed in the Rāmāyaṇa, and as such, we find many cases of confusion whether *n* and *s* should be cerebralized or not. A few examples of such confusion are shown below:

aprameyāṇi: I. 72. 2 (Go., °ni).

āmravaṇa-: Bl., II. 50. 7 (NW., II. 59, 7, °vana-); II. 63. 8, 10 = Bl., II. 65. 7, 8 (NW., II. 69. 7, 8, °vana-).

udīrayāṇa-: V. 27. 47 (Go., RŚ., NW., A, Pha, V. 21. 38, °yāna-).

nirnatodarī: III. 18. 11, 13, 15 = NW., III. 23. 11, 13, 15 (v. l. in NW., nirnato°; v. l. in Bl., vikṛto°, vinato°, nihsṛto°).

prāṇaṣṭa-: III. 75. 5 = NW., III. 81. 5 = Bl., III. 80[78]. 5 (Go., RŚ., III. 75. 5, praṇaṣṭa-).

vipranaṣṭa-: III. 68. 12 (Go., °ṇaṣṭa-; NW., III. 75. 14, Bl., III. 75. 15 [73. 16], tasmin naṣṭam).

praṇaṣṭam: Go., IV. 8. 89 (v. l. pramṛṣṭam).

The readings *praṇaṣṭa* etc. (with cerebral *ṇ*) go against the rule *naśeḥ ṣāntasya*, *Pāṇini*, VIII. 4. 36.

Śūrpanakhī-: NW., III. 27. 7; NW., III. 38. 1; NW., III. 39. 1, 44; NW., III. 55. 14 (v. l. in all cases in Bha and Ca, Śūrpaṇakhī-).

niṣpandāḥ: I. 34. 15 (RŚ., Bl., I. 36. 15, nispandāḥ; NW., I. 31. 15, niḥspandāḥ).

visismiye: VI. 59. 100 (Go., RŚ., visiṣmiye).

C. Isolated Phonetic Phenomena

Svara-bhakti.—Anaptyxis or Svara-bhakti is an important phonetic characteristic of both MIA and NIA, and though rare, is not unknown to OIA (e.g., *Indra* in RV. is sometimes to be pronounced as *Indara metri causa*). Apart from such familiar cases as *manoratha* (which occurs for the first time in the Epics) etc., we have one remarkable case of Svara-bhakti in the Rāmāyaṇa. The example is:

haruṣa-: VI. 98[97]. 37 (Go. *harṣa-* at the cost of metre).

The anaptyctic vowel *u* is here rather unexpected and may be due to the analogy of *paruṣa*.

Syncope.—Examples of Syncope can be observed in all the stages of Sanskrit. Apart from such usual cases as *parṣad*, *svarṇa*, etc., we have only two noteworthy cases of Syncope in the Rā. The examples are:

jāgraṇe: VI. 61. 26 (Go., jāgare; NW., VI. 39. 26, Bl., VI. 38. 28, *svapne jāgaraṇe* for *śayane jāgraṇe*).

parikālyamānaḥ (for *parikālaya*°): IV. 46. 16.

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Haplology.—Examples of Haplology are not at all rare in the Rā. Many irregular verbal forms may be regarded as cases of Haplology. A few examples of Haplology in the Rāmāyaṇa are:

didhakṣyāmi (for *didhakṣiṣyāmi*): III. 68. 27 (NW., III. 75. 32 dahiṣyāmi).
nimiṣyanti: VII. 57. 16 (NW., VII. 58. 16. Bl., VII. 59. 16, nimeṣiṣyanti).
rakṣye (for *rakṣiṣye*): I. 61. 19.
cakārādhanā-tatparaḥ (for *cakīrārādhana*°): NW., I. 42. 9 (Bl., I. 47. 9, cakārotpatya tatparaḥ; By., I. 46. 9, *tapas tasyāṃ hi kurvatyāṃ paricaryāṃ cakāra ha | Sahasrākṣo naraśreṣṭha parayā guṇasaṃpadā ||* for *carantyāś ca tapas tasyāḥ parāṃ sannatim āsthitaḥ | paricaryāṃ svayaṃ Śakraś cakārādhana-tatparaḥ ||*).
svādeyam (for *svādayeyam*): Bl., V. 25. 44 (v. l., NW., V. 19. 43, By., V. 24. 41, khādeyam).

Metrical loss of Syllable.—The syllable *-ay-* is very frequently dropped in participles, gerunds and infinitives (e.g., saṃvāhantyaḥ, dhāritum, pūritum, etc.). Besides these, we have only one or two more remarkable cases of Metrical Loss of Syllable. The examples are:

mudga-dhanuṣmatā (for *mudgara-*): GP., VI. 37. 14 (v. l., khaḍga-; NW., VI. 13. 12, śakti-; Bl., VI. 13. 15, aśani-).
baddha-kaṭām (for *baddha-kavātām*?): II. 56. 21.

Metathesis.—An example of Metathesis is found in the word *nālikera* at GP., III. 35. 13 for the more common form *nārikela*.

It may be pointed out here that the word *kareṇu* does not seem to show any metathetic form in the Rāmāyaṇa.

Vowel Harmony.—Examples of Vowel Harmony can be found in such words as *śiṃśipā* (v. l. found in NW. for *śiṃśapā*), *musula* (v. l. in NW. for *musala*), etc.

Contamination.—NW. sometimes reads *asru* for *aśru*. *asru* may be regarded as a case of contamination of *asra* and *aśru* (cf. *śyetá* in RV. for *śvetá* which has resulted from the contamination of *śveta* and *śyāma*).

Examples of *asru* are:

asru: NW. Kai, Rā, A, III. 35. 14; NW. Rā, A, La, Ba, Ma, III. 61. 3; NW. Rā, La, A, Ba, Ma, III. 66. 14; etc. (v. l. in all cases *aśru*).

Aphaeresis.—Examples of Aphaeresis are quite numerous in both MIA and NIA, but comparably rare in OIA. Besides the loss of the initial syllable of the prepositions *ava* and *api*, we have the following notable cases of Aphaeresis in the Rāmāyaṇa:

dhi for *adhi*.—NW. has preserved a few cases of the loss of the initial syllable of the preposition *adhi* in the word *dhiṣṭhita*. Examples are:

dhiṣṭhita-: NW., II. 51. 31 (Bl., II. 11. 30, viṣṭhita-; By., II. 14. 67, *dadarśa paurān vividhān mahādhanān upasthitān dvāram upetya viṣṭhitān* for NW., II. 20. 2 (By., II. 20. 9, tiṣṭhataḥ; Bl., II. 17. 2, viṣṭhitān, niṣṭhi°); NW., VI. 8. 45; NW., VII. 19. 16 (By., VII. 31. 16, viṣṭhitam; Bl., VII. 20. 17, ceṣṭitam); NW., VII. 20. 61 (By., VII. 32. 62, niṣṭanan; Bl., VII. 21. 62, sanisvanaḥ); NW., VII. 26. 29 (By., VII. 23. 43, mūrchitaḥ; Bl., VII. 27. 41, sthitaḥ); NW., VII. 26. 40 (By., VII. 23. 44, Bl., VII. 27. 43, viṣṭhita-); NW., VII. 31. 3 (By., VII. 25. 3, Bl., VII. 33. 3, viṣṭhi°); NW., VII. 79. 38, (By., VII. 77. 10, Bl., VII. 84. 9, viṣṭhi°); NW., VII. 94. 7 (By., VII. 92. 6, Bl., VII. 99. 7, *paricakrire paṛiveṣaṇam*).

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Numerous cases of *viṣṭhita* found in all the recensions (e.g., I. 33. 9; I. 35. 10; I. 43. 19; II. 14. 67; II. 16. 3; II. 74. 18; VII. 1. 3; VII. 16. 35; VII. 23. 40; etc.) might originally have been *dhiṣṭhita*.

dhiṣṭhāna occurs in the Mbh. also.

bhi for *abhi*.—NW. has preserved a single instance of the loss of the initial vowel of the preposition *abhi*. The example is:

bhyudaikṣata: NW., VI. 16. 14 (Bl., VI. 16. 16, By., VI. 41. 25, *saṃyugāyā-bhyacodayat* for *yuddhākāṅkṣī bhyudaikṣata*).

This case seems to be due to the desire for avoiding the difficult pronunciation in the regular form *yuddhākāṅkṣy abhyudaikṣata*.

UN-PĀṆINIAN SANDHI IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

(Addenda et Corrigenda)

A few errors of omission and commission which crept into the paper 'Un-Pāṇinian Sandhi in the Rāmāyaṇa' published in this Journal, Volume XVI, No. 1, 1950, pp. 13ff., are corrected below:

p. 14, *l.* 20, *read* eleven *for* ten.
p. 14, *add after l.* 35: vii. 53. 12—āgaccha Śabalêty evam.
p. 16, *add after l.* 7: vii. 26. 17—ṣaḍartu-kusumodbhavaiḥ.
p. 16, *l.* 9, *read* three *for* two.
p. 16, *add after l.* 22: vi. 59. 12—°dhvaja-chatra-juṣṭam (for Indravajrā metre).
p. 19, *l.* 37, *read* are only two instances *for* is only one instance.
p. 19, *add after l.* 39: iii. 64. 23—tasyâgamaḥ (< tasyāḥ+āgamaḥ).
p. 20, *l.* 9 *from bottom, delete* (excepting NW. Recension).
p. 22, *l.* 13, *read* And this fact proves *for* But this fact only proves.
p. 22, *l.* 31, *read* Mbh., i. 16. 35, *for* Mbh., i. 76. 33.
p. 39, *last line, read* (narās tam) *for* (narāstam).

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

TĀTPARYĀCĀRYA

By SRI ANANTALAL THAKUR, *Prasannakumar Roy Memorial College, Katrasgarh*

Some quotations from Tātparyācārya found in the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* and the *Nyāyalīlāvatī* led MM. Gopīnātha Kavirāja to think, against the views of MM. Chandrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra and MM. Vindhyeśvarīprasād Dvivedin, that this Tātparyācārya was different from Vācaspati Miśra I, the author of *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā* (History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature—Saraswati Bhavana Studies, Vol. III). But a further scrutiny of the same evidences in the light of commentaries published recently and other works, tends to establish their identity.

The passage in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* of Udayana referring to Tātparyācārya, is with regard to self-evidence (स्वतःप्रामाण्य) of inference which runs as follows :—

एककोटिनियतो ह्यनुभवो निश्चयः। ज्ञानतद्धर्मग्राहिणि च ज्ञाने न द्वैतमिति व्यवस्थितिरेव। प्रामाण्यनिश्चयस्तु तस्यापि परत एवेति न्यायसम्प्रदायः। इत एवेति विशेषात् तादृग्रूपस्य स्वत एवेति तात्पर्याचार्याः।

Bibl. Indica Ed., p. 697-8.

Śaṅkara Miśra commenting on this says :—

नन्वनुव्यवसायप्रामाण्ये स्वतस्त्वं समायातमित्यपसिद्धान्त इत्यत आह प्रामाण्येति यदि व्यवसितया तत्र प्रामाण्यमनुमीयते तदा तत्प्रामाण्यमनुमानादेव गृह्यते। न्यायनये प्रामाण्यस्य नित्यानुमेयत्वादित्यर्थः। नन्वनुमानस्य निरस्तसमस्तविभ्रमाप्रङ्गस्य स्वत एव प्रामाण्यमिति कथं टीका, कथं वा तवापि तादृग्रूपमेव व्याख्यानमत आह इत एवेति। तत्रापि स्वतःप्रामाण्यमप्रमाणास्पदत्वं टीकाकृतस्तात्पर्यविषयो ममापि तदभिप्रायकमेव तत्र तथा व्याख्यानम्। *Ātmatattvaviveka-Kalpalatā*,

Bibl. Indica Ed., p. 698-9.

Here Śaṅkara Miśra, supported by Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi remarks that the passage

अनुमानस्य निरस्तसमस्तविभ्रमाप्रङ्गस्य स्वत एव प्रामाण्यम्

has been quoted from some *Ṭīkā*. He adds here that the author of the *Ātmatattvaviveka* also supports the theory of self-evidence of inference in the same connection. We find that Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyaṭīkā* contains almost the same passage quoted by Śaṅkara Miśra :—

अनुमानस्य तु प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यलिङ्गजन्मनोऽन्यस्य वा निरस्तसमस्तव्यभिचाराप्रङ्गस्य स्वत एव प्रामाण्यमनुमेयाव्यभिचारिलिङ्गसमुत्थत्वात्।

N.V.T.T., Cal. Sans. Series, p. 9.

And Udayana in his *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaparišuddhi* also distinctly agrees with Vācaspati Miśra with regard to the point in question:

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द्विधा हि व्यभिचारशङ्का कारणतः स्वरूपतश्च, सा च व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मताग्राहकैरेव प्रमाणैरपनीयत इति भवति निरस्तसमस्तव्यभिचारशङ्कमनुमितिज्ञानम्। तस्यैवम्भूतस्य स्वत एव प्रामाण्यं निश्चीयत इति शेषः।

Bibl. Indica Ed., p. 112.

That inference is self-evident is found in the *Tātparyaṭīka* in another connection also. cf.

अनुमानस्य स्वतःप्रामाण्यतया... p. 4.

From what is stated above it may be noticed that the view attributed to Tātparyācārya by Udayana is ascribed by Śaṅkara Miśra and others to a commentary which seems to be identical with the Tātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspati as the quotation given by Saṅkara is traced in the latter.

It may be noted here that Vardhamāna commenting on the *Pariśuddhi* remarks :—

स्वत इति परमताभिप्रायम्—Pariśuddhiprakāśa, p. 61.

It shows that Vācaspati's view was not current among the neo-logicians.

The reference to Tātparyācārya by Vācaspati Miśra II, in his *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* (p. 81) relates to Śrīharṣa's refutation of *Sāmānyalakṣaṇāpratyāsatti*—connection between a sense-organ and its object based on a common feature. In the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, Śrīharṣa summarizes the contention of Vācaspati :—

इन्द्रियेण सामान्यलक्षणया प्रत्यासत्त्या व्याप्तिग्रहणकाले सर्वास्तज्जातीयव्यक्तयो गृह्यन्ते, यदनभ्युपगमे षण्ढकमुद्वाह्य मुग्धायाः पुत्रप्रार्थनमिवेति वाचस्पतिरुपालम्भमवादीत्।

Benares Ed., p. 354.

The passage in the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* in this connection definitely supports the author of the *Tātparyaṭīkā*[1]. The idea that *Sāmānyalakṣaṇāpratyāsatti* has originated with Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* is wrong. Vācaspati knew it and his *Sarvopasaṁhārakavyāpti* corresponds to it in essence. It will be interesting to compare the above quotation from Śrīharṣa with

तदेतत् षण्ढकमुद्वाह्य मुग्धायाः पुत्रप्रार्थनमिव। तस्मादन्तर्बहिर्वा सर्वोपसंहारेणाविनाभावोऽवगन्तव्यः।

Tātparyaṭīkā, p. 40.

It is clear that expressions attributed to Vācaspati by Śrīharṣa occur *in toto* in the *Tātparyaṭīkā* and Vācaspati II seeks to support it.

Vallabhācārya in his *Nyāyalīlāvatī* asserts that duality (*dvitva*) is a separate number just as unity (*ekatva*). Refuting the view of Bhūṣaṇakāra who holds an opinion contrary to it, Vallabha remarks :—

तदिदं चिरन्तनवैशेषिकमतदूषणं भूषणकारस्यातिचपाकरम्। तदियमनाम्नातता भासर्वज्ञस्य यदियमाचार्यमप्यवमन्यते। तथाच तदनुयायिनस्तात्पर्याचार्यस्य सिंहनादः संविदेव हि भगवतीत्यादि।

Benares Ed., p. 358.

[1] सामान्यलक्षणायां सिद्धायां सर्वधूमव्यक्तिषु व्याप्तिग्रहः सम्भवति प्रत्यासत्तिसौकर्यादिति। अथैवोक्तं तात्पर्याचार्यैः—Khaṇḍanoddhāra, Benares, p. 81.

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Duality according to old Vaiśeṣikas is a distinct number. It is neither *ekatvasamuccaya*, collection of independent unities, nor *apekṣābuddhivaicitrya*, a variety of knowledge arising out of a number of unities, as Bhāsarvajña, the author of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* holds. His refutation of the age-old view is a matter of shame. He is so unacquainted with the significance of the Vaiśeṣika doctrines that he disregards even the *Ācārya*. Thus Tātparyācārya, a follower of this Ācārya, emphatically asserts 'the venerable goddess intellect is our means to establish the existence of things'. It means to say that as duality is cognised by our intellect, it must exist.

It will be noticed that the passage attributed to Tātparyācārya by Vallabha occurs verbatim in the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspati. Now we have to establish the identity of the Ācārya referred to here. The word presents considerable difficulty to a student of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Generally it is used with reference to Udayana who uses the same with regard to Vyomaśiva, as is shown by MM. Kavirāja. We should think that 'ācārya' in the present case refers to Uddyotakara who in his *Nyāyavārtika* establishes duality, etc. in the following words:—

यतो व्यवस्था ते द्वित्वादयः N. Vār. Cal. Ed., p. 506.

यः पुनरेकत्वं द्वित्वादींश्च न प्रतिपद्यते तस्य न समुच्चयो न समुच्चयनिवृत्तिः।

Ibid., p. 507.

In this connection Vācaspati following Uddyotakara remarks:—

संविदेव भगवती वस्तूपगमे नः शरणम्। समुच्चयादिविलक्षणं द्वित्वाद्यवगाहमाना व्यवस्थापिका द्वित्वादीनाम्। तदनुसरणप्रकारश्च युक्तिबऊलतया वार्तिककृता कृत इति मन्तव्यम्।

Tātparyaṭīkā, p. 506.

Thus the views attributed to Tātparyācārya in different works have been traced in the Tātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspati Miśra I, who appears to have been known as Tātparyācārya[1] most probably after the name of his famous work, the *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā*.

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[1] Only one quotation attributed to Tātparyācārya which has come to my notice recently (उद्भूतरूपवत्त्वमुद्भूतस्पर्शवत्त्वं च मिलितं तन्त्रमिति तात्पर्याचार्याः—Kaṇādarahasyam, Benares, p. 24) could not be traced in the Tātparyaṭīkā presumably due to the fact that the portion of the commentary of Vācaspati in which the point at issue was very likely treated appears to be missing, (cf. N.S. III. i. 38 and 40). Gaṅgeśa also seems to have connected this contention with some *ṭīkā*. cf. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Pratyakṣa, pp. 730–38.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

ANGUL COPPER-PLATE OF DHARMAMAHĀDEVĪ

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(Communicated by Sri S. K. Saraswati)

This copper-plate grant of Dharmamahādevī (a queen of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa) is said to have been originally in the possession of Babu Shyam Sundar Garhnayak[1] of village Santri near Angul, Orissa. It was purchased for the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in March, 1926, and was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, p. 148. Its text was published for the first time by Mr. Binayak Misra in his book *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 52ff. The present treatment is based upon a study of the original plate as well as a set of estampages prepared from it.

This copper-plate measures $9\frac{3}{16}''$ in length[2] and $5\frac{3}{8}''$ in breadth. To the left in the middle there is a projection with a hollowed rectangular space for the fixation of a seal. But no seal is said to have been found along with the plate.

The plate is engraved on both sides. There are altogether 29 lines of writing, thirteen on the obverse and sixteen on the reverse. The last line contains only two *akṣaras*. The average size of a letter is between $\frac{3}{8}'' \times \frac{5}{16}''$. The plate is in a fair state of preservation. The characters belong to a variety of the Northern Alphabet of *c.* 10th-11th century A.D., and may be called an admixture of *Nāgarī* and proto-Bengali letters. They are same as the scripts of the other grant of Dharmamahādevī, i.e. her Taltali plate,[3] and bear a marked affinity to those of the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī kings, specially Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti,[4] and (quite naturally) to those of the Ganjam and Banpur plates of the Bhauma princess Daṇḍimahādevī[5] (whose reign was not separated by a long period from Dharmamahādevī's).

Among the initial vowels only *a*, *i* and *u* occur. The short *i* is denoted by a straight line (in fact a *mātrā*) with two circles below it (cf. the *i* of the Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya).[6] The *anusvāra* has been shown in two ways, sometimes by a superscript circle or dot and sometimes by a circle with a vertical line below it (cf. the letter in the Kudopali plates).[7] *Kh*, *g*, *ṇ*, *th*, *ś*, etc., are 'round-top letters'. *Th* and *dh* have no *mātrās*. *Kh*, *ṅ* and *ñc* have proto-Bengali forms representing the last stage before the final development.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Lines 1–19 describing the genealogy of the kings are in verses excepting a short prose passage

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[1] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 52. Besides the present one there is only one more inscription of Dharmamahādevī known to us up till now. This is her Taltali plate published in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 213ff.

[2] This length is including the projection.

[3] Cf. the facsimile of the inscription published in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, facing p. 218.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 323ff; Vol. IV, p. 255ff; Vol. XXIII, p. 248ff; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 76ff, p. 237ff.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 143ff; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 564ff.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 342.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 255.

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(containing the name of the place from where the charter was issued) in lines 3 and 4. The formal part of the grant is in prose, which again is followed by customary verses.

In respect of orthography, the following points call for remark. *B* and *v* have not been distinguished, the same sign having been used to denote both. The guttural nasal stands for *anusvāra* in *tad-vaṅśād* in line 7 and *tad-vaṅśe* in line 11. Consonants following superscript *r* have sometimes been doubled, as for instance, in *uddāmair* = *mmra* in line 2, *sarvv* = *āśā* in line 4, *nirmmūlam* in line 6, *ūrjjitaḥ* in line 11, *Dharmmamahādevayāḥ* in line 21, and *Dharmma-gauravāya* in line 26, etc. The use of final *t* and *n* is to be found in *vijaskandhāvārāt* in line 4, and *kṛtavān* in line 5. These final consonants are not indicated by the usual sign of *virāma* but by their modified forms. Both the final letters have been made somewhat smaller in size. The sign of *avagraha* does not occur. *Visarga* has been used at random in the formal part of the grant. There are several spelling mistakes such as the use of *ī* instead of *i* in *īndu* in line 6, *ajanī* and *Śāntīkara* in line 19. *s* has been used instead of *ś* in *pūrit-āsa* in line 15. The formal part of the grant including the customary verses is full of mistakes. The words *Vārihaspatya* (*Bārhaspatya*) in line 22 and *trī-yārisaya* (*try-ārṣeya*) in line 23 show Prakritic or vernacular influence.

The charter was issued from *Guheśvara-pāṭaka*.[1] Its object is to record the grant of some land in the village Deśaṇa-grāma[2] to a *Brāhmaṇa* called Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭa, son of Vite[3]-bhaṭṭa and the grandson of Atihara[4]-bhaṭṭa. The land granted seems to be ten *mālas*, if my emendation of the text on the point is correct, *das(ś)a-ma(ā)la-vibhāgaḥ*[5] (in lines 25-26). *Māla*[6] may denote the same measure as *mā* (a South Indian measure) which is 1/20th of a *veli*.[7] The donee was an emigrant from Kolāñca[8] and he belonged to the Śāṇḍilya-*gotra* with the *pravaras* stated as Bārhaspatya, Jāmadagnya[9] and Daivalya. The charter granting the donation was executed at Śākembā-*grāma*. The donor of the grant is Dharmamahādevī, Queen of Śāntikara,

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[1] Misra seeks to identify it with Godhaneśvara Pāṭaṇā forming a part of the town of Jajpur, district Cuttack, Orissa (*Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 87–89; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 75).

[2] Misra reads Deśalā-grāma. What has been read by Misra as *l* is clearly *ṇ* as the letter is without a *mātrā*. Again there is no stroke for medial *ā*.

[3] Misra reads Nite-bhaṭṭa.

[4] Misra reads Ārttihara.

[5] The actual reading in the plate is *dasa-mala-vibhāgaḥ*. Misra reads *das(ś)-amaś = ca tri-bhāgaḥ* which yields no satisfactory sense.

[6] The word *māla* occurs several times in the inscription of Gayāḍatuṅgadeva (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 348ff.).

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 143, note.

[8] Kolāñca, written also as Kroḍañci or Kroḍañja, seems to have been an important seat of the Brahmanical community in the mediaeval period. It finds mention in the mediaeval inscriptions of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, very often. In the genealogical works of Bengal, King Ādiśūra is said to have brought to Bengal five *Brāhmaṇas* from Kolāñca. The location of Kolāñca is a matter of controversy. J. C. Ghosh seeks to identify it with Kularcya or Kularca in the Bogra district, Bengal. See *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 20, 579-80, 625ff.; *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 356.

[9] Bārhaspatya and Jāmadagnya as *pravara* names do not fit with the *gotra* name Śāṇḍilya. The *pravaras* of the *Brāhmaṇas* of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* are Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala. Bārhaspatya is a *pravara* of the *Brāhmaṇas* of the Bharadvāja-*gotra* and Jāmadagnya of those of the Vatsa- or Sāvarṇa-*gotra*. It may be pointed out here that the donee of Dharmamahādevī's Taltali-plate was also a *Brāhmaṇa* of the Śāṇḍilya-*gotra* with the *pravaras* correctly stated as Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala. Unfortunately the editors of the Taltali plate have wrongly understood the text on the point 'शाण्डिल्यसितदेवलप्रवराय' and corrected it as शाण्डिल्यासितदेवलप्रवराय meaning thus 'Devala-*pravara* included in Śāṇḍilya-*gotra*' (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 220 and 222).

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a Bhauma king of Orissa. The genealogy given in the inscription is as follows:—

There was a king called Unmatta in whose family were born Gayāda and other kings. In their family there was the king Loṇabhāra. His son was Kusumabhāra. After Kusumabhāra, his younger brother Lalitabhāra became king and he was succeeded on his death by his son Śāntikara.[1]

There are several Bhauma kings of the name of Śāntikara. The Śāntikara of the present inscription is, as Misra holds, Śāntikara III[2] (who bore the surname Lavaṇabhāra II,[3] (a Sanskritized form of Loṇabhāra) as found in Dharmamahādevī's Taltali plate).

The present plate does not show when Dharmamahādevī ruled. But the position becomes clear from her Taltali plate which shows that after the death of her husband (i.e. Śāntikara III), his brother Śubhākara IV became king. On the latter's death the throne passed successively into the hands of the female members of the family (presumably in the absence of male heirs), i.e., to (1) Śubhākara IV's queen, Gaurīmahādevī, (2) her daughter, Daṇḍimahādevī, (3) the latter's step-mother, Vakulamahādevī,[4] and lastly to (4) Dharmamahādevī. Thus Dharmamahādevī is the last known ruler of the Bhauma family so far as its chronology stands up till now.

The present inscription as well as the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī bears no date. But the editors[5] of the Taltali plate assign her rule to the first quarter of the 9th century A.D., following Misra's views on the dates of the Bhauma kings. Misra refers the dates in the Bhauma inscriptions to the Harṣa era and ascribes Daṇḍimahādevī whose last known date is year 187 to A.D. 794.[6] If this view is accepted, Dharmamahādevī, who is the last of the two successors of Daṇḍimahādevī, can no doubt be ascribed to the early part of the 9th century A.D. (as the editors of the Taltali plate have suggested). But in view of the palaeographical peculiarities of her inscriptions this appears too early a date for her. As has been stated above, the script of her inscriptions presents a striking similarity to those of the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī kings Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya and Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. On a detailed examination of the palaeography of the inscriptions of the above-mentioned Somavaṁśī kings, Fleet[7] held that they could not be possibly placed earlier than the 10th century A.D. On the whole, he was inclined to place them between A.D. 1000 and 1100. From palaeographical considerations D. C. Sircar assigns the first three generations of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa, i.e., Śivagupta, Mahābhavagupta I and Mahāśivagupta I to *c.* 925–1000 A.D.[8] Even if we take the earliest limit for the date of Mahābhavagupta I and Mahāśivagupta I we find that they cannot be placed prior to the middle of the 10th century A.D. Now, since the inscriptions of Dharmamahādevī

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[1] This genealogy (till Śāntikara) is the same as that found in Dharmamahādevī's Taltali plate, and Daṇḍimahādevī's Ganjam and Banpur grants (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-18; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 133ff.; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 564ff.).

[2] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 68–71.

[3] The Bhauma inscriptions show that the surnames Lalitahāra (or °bhāra) Kusumahāra (or °bhāra) and Loṇahāra (or °bhāra) were adopted alternatively by the kings of the family since the time of Śāntikara I (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 214).

[4] No inscription of Vakulamahādevī has been found as yet. Her name as a queen of Śubhākara IV is revealed for the first time in the Taltali plate (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 215ff.).

[5] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 214.

[6] Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 72ff.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp 328–34.

[8] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 81.

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are written in a script exactly similar to those of the charters of the above-said Somavaṁśī kings, she also, it can be presumed, flourished in the same century (i.e., 10th century A.D.). In fact, she being the last ruler of the Bhauma dynasty, her reign might have preceded the establishment of the Somavaṁśī supremacy in Orissa only by a few years. Misra's calculation of Bhauma dates with reference to the Harṣa era is still a conjecture which the palaeography of most of the inscriptions does not support. It is possible that the dates of the Bhauma inscriptions refer to an era founded by some early ruler of the Bhauma family or to some other era with its epoch later than that of the Harṣa era.

The localities, *Daśaṇa-grāma* and *Śākembā-grāma* mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

Text[1]

Obverse

1. Oṁ[2] ॥[*] Svasti[3] vyasta-jal-ābhra-vibhrama-dharoḥ[4] śvet-ātapatr-
2. otkarair=aśvīyaiḥ[5] śruti-cā-
2. mareś[6]=ca hasita-vyākoṣa-kāś-audayaiḥ[7] | uddāmair=mmada-
3. saurabhaiś=ca kara(i)ṇā[m][8]=[ā] kṣi-
3. pta-sapta-cchad-āmodaiḥ sannihitāṁ sad=aiva śarad-ārambha-
4. śriyam=vi(m=bi)bhrataḥ ॥[1*] Śrī-Guheśva-
4. ra-pāṭak-āvāsita-vijayaskandhāvārāt [|] Sarvv-āśā-paripūrit-
5. ādhika[9]-ruchir=yas=tāpam=a-
5. stan=nayann[10]=ānandaṁ kṛtavān janasya sadasi[11] prāpta=
6. pa[12] tiṣṭhaś=ciraṁ | sad-dṛṣti-
6. pratirodhi yena ca tamo nirmmūlam=unmūlitaṁ[13] śrīmān=ī(i)-
7. ndur=iv=āvanī-
7. patir=abhūd=U[nma]ṭṭa-siṅgh[14]-āhvayaḥ ॥[2*] Tad-vaṁśād[15]=
8. abhavann=anindita-guṇā mu-
8. ktāmayāḥ saṅgatāḥ sad-vṛttā[16] sukha-śītalāḥ kṣitibhṛtaḥ śrī-
9. mad-Gayāḍ-ādayaḥ | ye nītvā hṛdaya-pratāpa-śamane dev-āṅganābhi-
10. ḥ svayaṁ kaṇṭh-āśleṣa-sukha-sthiti-praṇayino hār-ābhirāmāḥ kṛtā-
11. ḥ[॥][3*]Tad-vaṁśe=bhavad=arjjitaḥ[17] kṛta-vu(bu)dha-prīti-[ḥ]pratīt-
11. odayo devaḥ śatru-vadhū-mu-
12. khendu-taraṇiḥ śrī-Loṇabhāro nṛpaḥ | yasy=ākramya guru-pratāpa-
12. śinaḥ-

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1 From the original as well as impressions.
2 Denoted by a symbol.
3 Metre of verses 1–4: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
4 Read *dharaiḥ.*
5 The Banpur plate of Daṇḍimahādevī reads *aśvīya.*
6 Read *cāmaraiś.*
7 Read *kāś-odayaiḥ.*
8 According to Misra the plate reads *kariṇāṁ kṣipta.*
9 Misra reads *paripūraṇ-ādhika.*
10 Misra reads *nayan-ānandaṁ.*
11 Misra reads *mandasi* and corrects it as *manasi.* But the correct reading is *sadasi* which is the reading of Dharmamahādevī's Taltali plate also. But it should be noted that *manasi* (which occurs in Daṇḍimahādevī's grants) suits the context better semantically.
12 Read *pra.*
13 Misra reads *unmilitaṁ.*
14 Read *siṁh.*
15 Read *vaṁśād.*
16 Read *vṛttāḥ.*
17 Read °*vaṁśe=bhavad=ū*°.

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13. khinaḥ [1] pṛthvībhṛtaḥ proddhatā[n]=dūraṁ yasya digantareṣu tarasā smairaṁ [2] prasasruḥ

Reverse

14. karāḥ | [||] [4*] Tasy [3]=ātmajaḥ praṇata-pārthi a-cakra-cūḍā-nirvyā-ja-ropita-paraś [4]=caritārtha-
15. nāmā | vistāri-saurabha-guṇ-o[da]ya-pūrit-āsa(śa)=tasmād=abhūt=Kusumabhāra [5] iti
16. kṣitīśaḥ [6] ‖ [5*] Abhṛta [7] Lalitabhāraḥ [8] kṣmā-bharam=bhūri-tejās=tad-anu tad-anujanmā
17. vyūḍha-bhogīndra-līlaḥ | anayad=amanmanaṁ ta(ya)d-yaśaḥ puram [9]=uccair=api ripu-
18. ramaṇīnām=añjan-onmiśram=aśru ‖ [6*] Tasmin [10]=nṛpe divam=upeyuṣi tat-ta-
19. nūjaḥ śāst=āvaner=ajanī [11] Śāntī(nti)kar-ābhidhānaḥ | yen=oddhṛteṣv=akhila-
20. durmmada-kaṇṭakeṣu reme yathāsukham=apāsta-bhiyā janena ‖ [7*] Śrī-
21. śrī [12]-Ddharmmamahādevyāḥ [13] mātā-pitror=ātmar [14]=ca puny-ā(ṇy-ā)-bhivṛddhayoḥ [15] ‖ [16]
22. Kolāñca-vinirgataḥ [17] Śāṇḍillyasya gotrāyaḥ [18] Vārihaspatya [19] Ya-
23. madagnī [20] Daivallya [21]-trī-yāriṣaya [22]-pravarāyaḥ [23] bhaṭṭa Atiharas[24]-ya pra-
24. pautrāya [25] Vite-bhaṭṭasya [26] putrāya Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭasya [27] saṁ-krāntī(i) velāya [28] śā-

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1 Read *śikhinaḥ*.
2 Read *svairaṁ*.
3 Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
4 Read *padaś°*.
5 Misra reads *Phu(Ku)sumahāra*.
6 The stroke for *i* is not visible in the plate.
7 Metre: *Mālinī*. Misra wrongly calls it *Vasantatilakā*.
8 Misra reads *Lalitahāraḥ*.
9 Read *pūram°*.
10 Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
11 Read *ajani*.
12 The word *śrī* occurs twice in the original but Misra reads only one. Dharmamahādevī is described here simply as śrī-śrī-Dharmamahādevī without any royal epithets such as *parama-māheśvarī*, *parama-bhaṭṭārikā*, *mahārājādhirāja*, etc., which are found used before her name in the Taltali plate (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 213ff.). The genealogy again, stops short with Śāntikara III, her husband, whose achievements are referred to as of one dead and gone. Nor does the inscription mention any reigning prince. Does it show that this charter was issued by Dharmamahādevī some time after her husband's death and before her accession to the throne?
13 Read *Dharmmamahādevyāḥ*.
14 Read *ātmanaś=ca*. Misra's emendation *ātmanāṁ* is faulty.
15 Read *vṛddhaye*.
16 The sign of punctuation seems to be superfluous.
17 Read *vinirgatāya*.
18 Read *Śāṇḍilya-sagotrāya*.
19 It is intended for *Bārhaspatya*.
20 Read *Jamadagni*.
21 Read *Daivalya*.
22 According to Misra the original reading is *tri-yārirṣa*. But the plate actually reads *trī-yāriṣaya* (intended for *try=ārṣeya*).
23 Read *pravarāya*.
24 Misra reads *Ārttihara*.
25 Read *pautrāya*.
26 Misra reads *Nite-bhaṭṭasya*.
27 Read *bhaṭṭāya*.
28 Read *velāyāṁ*.

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25. saṁ[ś]kṛtya[ḥ] [1] Śākemv(b)ā-grāme tāmra-śāsanaḥ [2] Deśaṇa [3]-gr[ā]ma-
daśa-ma-
26. la-vibhāgaḥ [4] karatriṇī(ṇī) palarukaḥ [5] ‖ Pratīpāditaṁ [6] dharmma-
gauravāyaḥ [7]
27. Kehūvākhaṇḍaḥ [8] sya [9](sva)-dat(tt)āṁ para-dat-ānupāleṇeḥ [10] (datt-
ānupālane) yo hareta [11] vasundharāṁ | sa vī (i)[ṣṭhā-]
28. yāṁ kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyate [12] ‖ V(B) [12]ahun=ātra
kim=ukten saṁkṣepād=idam=u-
29. cyate [|]

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[1] Read *śāsanīkṛtya*. Misra's emendation as *śāsanaṁkṛtya* is faulty.

[2] Read *śāsanaṁ*. Misra retains the actual reading without correction.

[3] Misra reads *Deśalā*.

[4] Read *daśa-māla*°. Misra reads *das(ś)amaś=ca tribhāgaḥ*. Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, M.A., Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, informs me that there is in Orissa a land measure called *māṇa* which is equivalent to about $\frac{3}{5}$ of an acre. Is it possible that the word *māla* is a scribe's mistake for māṇa, as there is little difference between *l* and *ṇ* in the inscription? Though the word māṇa suits the context well, I am not sure if it (which appears to be a modern Oriya word) was also in use in its present sense in mediaeval days.

[5] The whole expression seems to be a vernacular one. Is it intended for *akaratvena pālanīyaḥ*? The actual reading may also be *karatriṇīya laruka*[*ḥ*] as Misra suggests.

[6] Read *pratipāditaṁ*.

[7] The *visarga* is superfluous. Misra reads *gauravāt*.

[8] Its meaning is not clear to me.

[9] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

[10] Read *para-dattāṁ vā* to suit the meaning. The engraver has made a mess here by putting two portions of two different stanzas. If we keep the reading *para-datt-ānupālane*, the previous *pāda* should be *sva-dānāt phalam=ānantyam*. But as there is no scope for reading *phalam=ānantyam*, and as the next *pāda* begins with *yo hare*, we can safely presume that what the engraver wanted to put or should have engraved was *sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vī*.

[11] Misra reads *haret*.

[12] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

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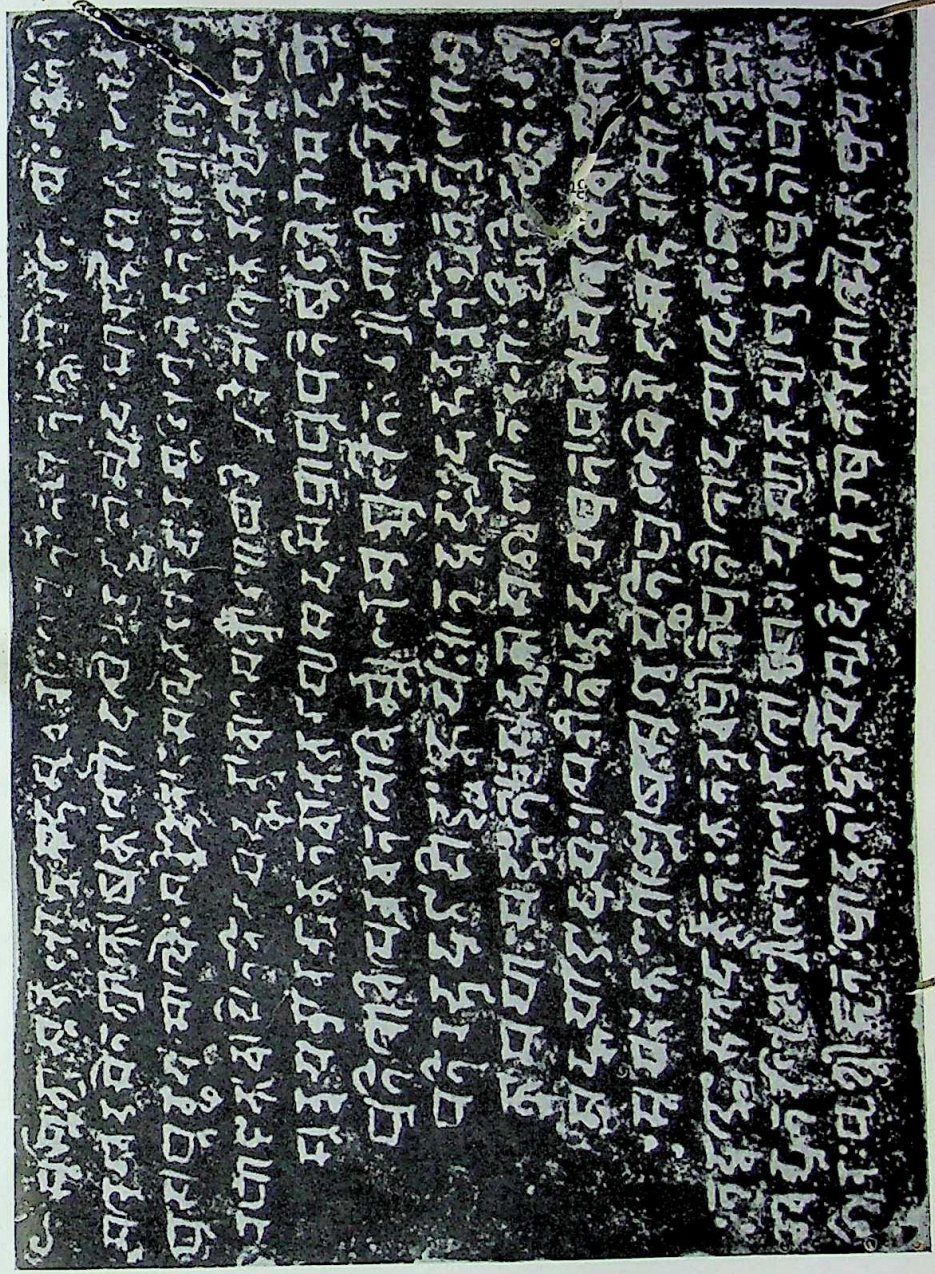
ANGUL COPPER-PLATE OF DHARMAMAHADEVI

Obverse



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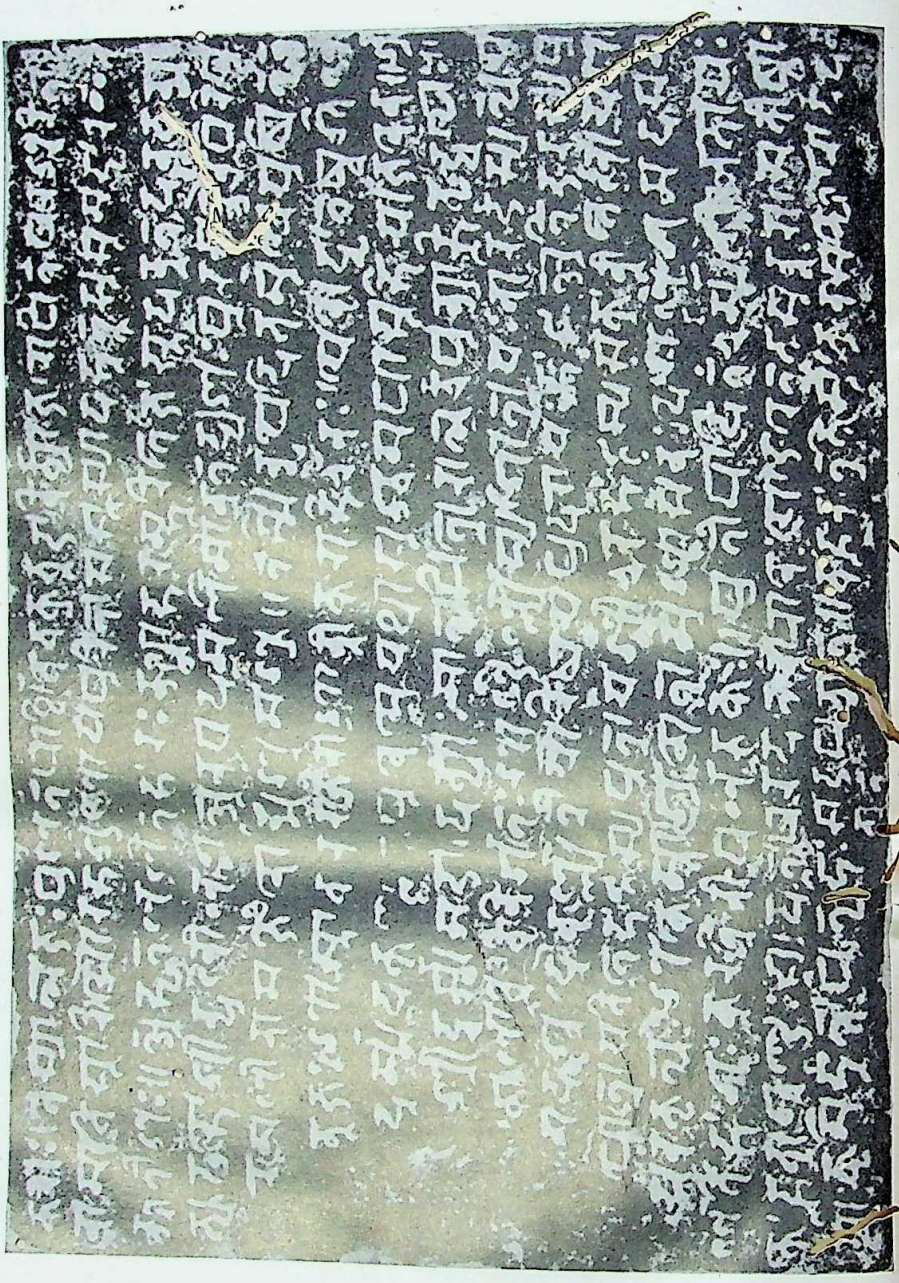
ANGUL COPPER-PLATE OF DHARMAMAHĀDEVĪ

Reverse



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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1951.

A NOTE ON AN UNPUBLISHED VIṢṆU IMAGE FROM KĀSMĪRA

By Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray, M.A., D.Phil.

In the year 1935, the Yale Cambridge expeditionary party, under the leadership of De Terra, carried on expeditions in India to understand the Ice Age Cycle in the Himālaya and to unravel the Pleistocene history of man in other parts of India. In course of their expedition, they opened one or more megalithic sites in Kāśmīra. There is a stone figure of Viṣṇu among the pottery and other stone objects collected by the party from those sites, which are now lying in several boxes at the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. The god is three faced, the central face being human and the side ones being those of animals. Its style resembles that of similar reliefs of the 8th–9th century from Kāśmīra and the surrounding states of Chamba and Kulu.

Of the three faced Viṣṇu images hailing from Kāśmīra earliest in point of date, are those found in the temple of Mārtaṇḍa. On the western walls of the ante-chamber in the Mārtaṇḍa temple, ascribable to Lalitāditya of the Karkoṭa dynasty, who ruled in the early years of the 8th century A.D., there are figures of Viṣṇu; each one is three faced, the left face being that of a boar, the central one, that of a man and the right one, that of a lion.[1] Similar to the image of Viṣṇu, described above, was a group of Viṣṇu statues found at Avantipura.[2] While the Viṣṇu images of Mārtaṇḍa were three faced, those of Avantipura, carved in the round, presented an additional demoniacal face at the back. The Avantipura reliefs were found in the Avantisvāmī temple built by Avantivarman (A.D. 855–883) and must be assigned to the same period.

Closely resembling the three faced Viṣṇu images of Kāśmīra, was a Viṣṇu found at Saho. The three faces of the deity were those of boar, man and lion respectively.[3] Another image of this type, in the collection of the Mathura Museum (2525) shows the lion face on the right and the boar face on the left.[4] Coomaraswamy published the bust of a similar Viṣṇu which he procured from Mathura for the Boston Museum.[5] B. Bhattacarya discovered another such Viṣṇu statue from Benares. Being in the round, it showed the demoniacal head at the back, in addition to the three other faces.[6]

According to Dr. J. N. Banerjea the three headed Viṣṇu images of Mārtaṇḍa as well as similar images found elsewhere, are really four faced, the fourth one at the back could not be shown as they were relievo-representations. He points out that those figures which are in the round never fail to show the fourth head at the back.[7] In this connection I may point out a passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which clearly shows that there were actually four faced Viṣṇu images in Kāśmīra in the Karkoṭa period.

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1 D. R. Sahni, 'Pre-Muhammadan Monuments of Kāśmīra', *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1915-16, p. 62.
2 Sahni, 'Excavations at Avantipura', *Ann. Rep.* A.S.I., 1913-14, pp. 44-45.
3 J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 248, Pl. XXXIX, *a*.
4 *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIII (1945), p. 87.
5 *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, December 1919, No. 104, pp. 60–62.
6 B. Bhattacarya, *Indian Images*, Part I, p. 8, pl. IV.
7 *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIII (1945), p. 87.

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While speaking of the religious establishments of Jayāpiḍa Vinayāditya, Kalhaṇa states that in his town (of Jayapura) Keśava showing his quadruple form (caturātmaṇ) as well reclining on the (serpent) śeṣa has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Viṣṇu's world.

Tatpure caturātmā ca śeṣaśāyi ca keśavaḥ |
Viṣṇulokasthitiṁ tyaktvā dhruvaṁ vadhnāti saṁnidhim ||

R.T., IV. 508.

In another verse of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the poet-historian describes the erection of *caturātman* Viṣṇu images in Avantivarman's reign.

Bhrātā vyadhatta nṛpatar=aparaḥ samarābhidhaḥ |
Keśavaṁ caturātmānaṁ samarasvāminaṁ tathā ||

R.T., V. 25.

The term caturātman in these two verses really refers to Viṣṇu caturmūrti, the synthetic representation of the Caturvyūthas—Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, each symbolized by one of the four faces in the hybrid multifaced figure.

Sahni who noticed the three and four headed Viṣṇu images of Mārtaṇḍa and Avantisvamin temples pointed out that the lion face and the boar face of the deity represented his Nṛsiṁha and Varāha incarnations respectively, but the demoniacal head he failed to explain.[1] 'A point in connection with this class of statues which cannot yet be explained', he remarked, 'is the presence of a demoniacal head carved on the back of the statue, as if it were a fourth head of the deity'.[2] B. Bhattacarya was the first to draw our attention to the iconographic text compiled by Hemādri from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* which throws light on such reliefs. But Bhattacarya could not explain the ideology underlying them which he described as Sādhāraṇa-Viṣṇu.[3] Dr. J. N. Banerjea has pointed out that a text similar to the Viṣṇudharmottara one must have been followed in the carving of the Kāśmīrean four faced images of Viṣṇu. With the help of another long extract from the same text, he explained the central idea behind such images which in a very interesting and esoteric manner symbolized the vyūha doctrine of the Pāñcarātrins.[4]

In many respects, our Viṣṇu image closely corresponds to the statues of Viṣṇu found at Mārtaṇḍa and Avantisvāmin temple and may justly be regarded as a member of the Viṣṇu group referred to above. The lower part of the statue is broken, but the bust is more or less well preserved. Among the existing ornaments of the deity can be seen a three peaked tiara studded with jewels over the central head, a popular ornament in mediaeval Kāśmīra,[5] hanging earrings and a heavy jewelled armlet on the only existing upper left arm. Each of the animal head is further decorated with a sun-like crown. The workmanship is very good, which is revealed in the long eyes, well defined nose, close pressed lips, prominent chin and well developed arm, while the modelling, though slightly hard,

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[1] *Ann. Rep.* A.S.I., 1915-16, p. 62.
[2] *Ann. Rep.* A.S.I., 1913-14, p. 45.
[3] B. Bhattacarya, *Indian Images*, Part I, p. 8.
[4] J. N. Banerjea, 'Mediaeval Viṣnu images from Kashmir and some Viṣnudharmottara passages', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, IV (1940), pp. 61–64.
[5] The Viṣnu images of Mārtaṇḍa and Avantipura have a three peaked tiara on their heads, similar to the crescented crowns worn by the Kings of Mediaeval Kāśmīra. 'Ananta's diadem', says Kalhaṇa 'was decorated with five resplendant suns.' R.T., VII. 95.

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preserves reminiscences of the late Gupta or the transitional tradition. The hands are broken but at the lower part of the left arm of the deity, the joints of two arms are discernible, from which it may be inferred that the deity probably had four hands. But our image of Viṣṇu is somewhat different from similar three headed Viṣṇu images in one important point. While the latter usually show the lion, the human and the boar faces, both the animal faces in the present one appear to be leonine in character. Whether this represents a new variety based on some hitherto unknown text, or one of the two non-human faces really stands for that of stylized one of a boar is a debatable point. In any case, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* passage which is our principal authority for throwing light on these images clearly lays down that the lion face typifies the Nārasiṃharṣana or jñāna aspect and the boar face, the aiśvarya one of Viṣṇu Caturmūrtin.

The date of the image cannot be precisely stated but from stylistic consideration and close affiliation with the Viṣṇu statues of Mārtaṇḍa and Avantisvāmin, it can safely be assigned to the 8th-9th century A.D. It may however be noted that the facial expression of the deity is not fierce like that of the Viṣṇu figures of Avantipura[1]; the calm and composed portrayal of the face belongs more to the period of Lalitāditya.

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[1] For the terrific looking Viṣṇu statues of Avantipura, see R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic sections of Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, pp. 49–51.

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Viṣṇu from Kāśmīra.
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NOTICE

The Journal of the Asiatic Society (Science & Letters) is a continuation of the following four periodicals published by the Society:

Asiatic Researches, I–XX, 1788–1839.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–LXXIII, 1832–1904.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–XL, 1865–1904.

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CALCUTTA:—Published by the Asiatic Society, and Printed by Norman A. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

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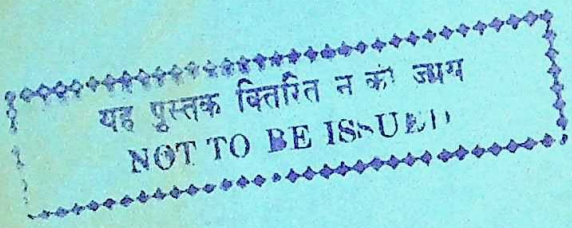

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